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LITURGY, EPISCOPACY,

AND

CHURCH RITUAL:

THREE SPEECHES

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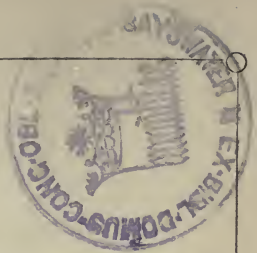
DR. WILLIAM LAUD,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND MARTYR.

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OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER.

MDCCCXL.



It has been thought worth while to republish these Three Speeches from Wharton's collection, not so much for the main argument of them, as because they contain many opinions on religious and other matters, dropped, as it were, by the way. The headings of the pages will therefore more frequently indicate some such opinion, than follow the course of the main discussion.

Oxford,
May 12, 1840.

THE
ANSWER
OF THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD
WILLIAM
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
TO THE
SPEECH
OF THE
LORD SAY AND SEAL,
TOUCHING
The Liturgy.



LAUD
ON
THE LITURGY.

THE Speech begins thus :

“ My Lords, I have waited to find you
“ free from greater businesses ; that I
“ might crave leave to speak of some-
“ thing that concerns myself. And
“ this I have the more desired, since
• “ my Lord of Canterbury’s last
“ Speech ; who expressing his trou-
“ bles, and bewailing the misery of
“ his condition, and of the condition
“ of the Church of England, (for he

“ would needs join them together,
“ which I think he may, as the cause
“ and the effect, for the miseries of
“ the Church have certainly risen
“ from him,) he insisted much upon
“ this: That these troubles had be-
“ fallen him through the malice of
“ two parties, the Papists and the
“ Sectaries, and by those, he said, the
“ Church was greatly afflicted.”

My Lords, and all Christian readers, those great businesses which my Lord speaks of are now ended; and I hope as you are free from business, so you will be free from prejudice, while I also crave leave to speak something concerning myself. And this I also have the more desired, since I saw this honourable Lord had put his Speech in print, which I find as much, if not more, against me, than for himself. This Speech was not put in print, till near six months after it was spoken; and I conceive was printed then to renew the business, and to whet the malice of those Sectaries against me. It is

true, that after I was impeached by the House of Commons for High Treason, there came no Articles against me, in full ten weeks after; then they came up in generals only; and I was called to the House to hear them, on Friday, February the 26th, 1649. Now by these Articles I found, that there was great, but (I humbly praise God for it) causeless, jealousy of me in point of religion. This made me labour more to clear myself from that, than from any thing else objected against me, as ever hating to seem other in religion than what I truly and really am. For of all simulations or dissimulations, that is the basest, when a man, for poor temporary fading ends, shall shift his religion or his judgment concerning it, with the time, if not with the tide: as if at all times he had somewhat to seek before he would express: whereas it is most true, which St. Hilary speaks in matter of religion, *Non opus est intervallo aliquo inter cor et os*^a; There is no need of a distance between the heart and the mouth; as if a man were to bethink himself of

^a St. Hilary, l. x. de Trin. p. 165.

6 *Separatists cause of present distractions ;*

some faithless ambiguity, before he would speak that which belonged to the profession of his faith.

Now, if seeing myself under so great a pressure, and the Church of England so hard laid at, as then it was, I did bewail the condition of both, I think I did what became me. And I hope I offended no man in joining our conditions together. And whereas this honourable Lord thinks, that I might well join them, as the cause and the effect: I think so too myself, but in another sense.

For his Lordship says too peremptorily, that the miseries of the Church have certainly risen from me. No certainly: the miseries of this Church have proceeded from the Separatists, and from such as for private at least, if not for worse ends, have countenanced them and their strange proceedings against the Government and Governors of the Church. And this so long, till they brought the Church's condition (which flourished before) to be the cause of my condition, such as it now is. And I fell into this condition, by labouring by all good means

to uphold the Church of England from that misery, into which I fear it is now falling.

And I doubt not, but God will open the eyes of all good men, to see clearly in time, that this was the cause which laid both me and this Church so low; and not any actions, much less practices, of mine. This being so, if I insisted much upon this, that these troubles have befallen me through the malice of two parties, the Papists and the Sectaries, (as this honourable Lord says I did,) I had great reason so to do. For certainly, the Church of England is greatly afflicted by them; and I pray God, in the end it be not torn in pieces between them. That which I then said in my sudden speech to the Lords to this particular, was as follows :

“ I am very unfortunate in this business, between the malignity of two parties against me, the Papist and the Separatist. And shall I suffer on both sides at once ? Shall I be accounted a deadly enemy to the Papist, as I am reputed by them both at home and abroad ; and in the mean time, accused for no less than Treason, for favouring and complying with

them? Well: if I do suffer, it is but because truth usually lies between two sides, and is beaten on both sides, (as the poor Church of England is at this day by these factions:) but in this and all things else, and in despite of malice, truth shall either be my protection from suffering, or my comfort while I suffer; and by God's gracious assistance, I shall never depart from it, but continue at the Apostle's ward; *Nihil possum contra veritatem*^b: I can do nothing against the truth; and for it, I hope God will enable me patiently to suffer any thing."

This, or to this effect, I then spake, and I hope, without any offence; sure I am, without reflecting upon any particular person. Yet my Lord seems to think otherwise: for he says,

"How far this man will extend this word

"Sectary, and whom he will compre-

"hend under it, I know not; but I

"have some cause to fear, that I may

"lie under some misapprehension in

^b 2 Cor. xiii. 8.

“ respect of matters of this nature ;
“ which how far it concerns him, your
“ Lordships will perceive by what I
“ shall say.”

My Lord, it seems, knows not how far I will extend the word Sectary : truly, no farther than the Church of Christ extended it, ever since sects and schisms broke in upon it, to help despoil it of peace and unity. And a Sectary is he^c.

The next thing which my Lord knows not, is, whom I will comprehend under that name ; and that his Lordship may easily know. For I comprehend none under it, but such as divide from the Church, and either make or follow a breach, where no just cause is given by the Church ; or where though cause were given, ways of division are preferred before ways of peace. But that which troubles my Lord about these things, which he professes he knows not, is, that he hath some cause to fear (for so he

^c The definition and description of a Sectary is wanting in the original.

10 *Disuse of the Liturgy is schism.*

confesses) that he may lie under some misapprehensions in respect of matters of this nature. And this I think may trouble him indeed: for there is cause enough, why he should fear, that he may lie under, not misapprehensions, but very just apprehensions, in respect of matters of this nature; since it is manifest, that he separates himself, as Sectaries use to do, from the Common Prayers of the Church: and those such, as were composed by such Bishops and other Divines, as suffered, some of them to Martyrdom, for the truth of Christ: and those such also, as were a second time, under the prosperous reign of Queen Elizabeth, confirmed by Act of Parliament. So that his Lordship separating himself from those prayers, which were made by the one, and confirmed by the other, must needs be apprehended as a Sectary; whether you look upon Church or State. But my Lord tells you, that you will perceive by that which he shall say, how far this concerns me. And therefore I pray you observe it diligently; for I cannot yet conceive how any thing else that belongs to a Sectary,

Dishonourable language of Lord Say. 11

can concern me; or any thing else, much, which his Lordship can say against me.

“ My Lord of Canterbury! A man of
“ mean birth, bred up in a College,
“ (and that too frequently falls out to
“ be in a faction,) whose narrow com-
“ prehension extended itself no farther,
“ than to carry on a side in a College,
“ or canvass for a Proctor’s place in
“ the University.”

This concerns me indeed, and very nearly; for I see his Lordship resolves to rake me up from my very birth; a way unusual for men well-bred, and little beseeeming a person of honour; especially thus to insult upon a fallen fortune. But yet it concerns me not in any relation to a Sectary, unless his Lordship would possess the world that I was bred in faction, and so like enough to prove one. But how my Lord is mistaken in this, will plainly appear. First then, it is true, I am a man of ordinary, but very honest, birth; and the memory of my

12 *Laud's birth no meaner than Abbot's.*

parents savours very well to this day, in the town of Reading, where I was born. Nor was I so meanly born, as perhaps my Lord would insinuate; for my father had borne all offices in the town, save the Mayoralty. And my immediate predecessor (whom I am sure my Lord himself accounted very worthy of his place) was as meanly born as myself, his father being of the same trade in Guilford, that mine was of in Reading. But all this of my birth might well have been spared; for my Lord knows well enough^d,

—Miserum est aliorum incumbere famæ;
Ne collapsa ruant subductis tecta columnis.

And that which follows in the Satirist. And had my birth been meaner than it was, that would not have impaired me among men of understanding. And howsoever, this advantage I have; I have done honour to my birth; which every man hath not done, that hath had an honourable descent. To my birth his Lordship adds, that I was bred up in a College.

^d Juven. Satire 8.

That is true. But it is as true, that his Lordship was bred up in a College also, and of the same University. And, therefore, so far he speaks as much against himself, as me. But I hope, he intends not to charge being bred in a College as a fault upon either of us. And though it too frequently falls out, that Colleges be in a faction, (for that also is too truly observed by his Lordship,) yet that is no fault in any man, who neither causes nor nourishes the faction. But that which his Lordship charges next upon me, is both a weakness, and a fault, if true. Weakness, that my comprehensions are narrow. And a fault, because they extended no farther than to carry on a side in the College, or a canvass for a Proctor's place in the University.

For the weakness first: my comprehensions, as narrow as they are, are yet as large as God hath been pleased to make them, and as large as my hard study, accompanied with his grace, hath been able to stretch them. And so large I am sure they are, as that I have ever looked carefully upon the whole Catholic Church of

14 *His watch over the Church Catholic.*

Christ, spread upon the face of the whole earth.

And, therefore, certainly my comprehensions are not so narrow as theirs, whose largest cannot, or will not, look upon one entire national Church; nay, a parochial is too big for them, and a conventicle big enough. Nor did my narrow comprehensions ever reject that great body, the Catholic Church, out of the Creed, as some of late have done, whose comprehensions are not, for all that, censured by his Lordship for their narrowness.

Next for the fault: that is two-fold. First, My comprehensions went no farther (says my Lord) than to carry on a side in a College. Here my Lord is either utterly mistaken, or, which is worse, in a wilful error. For while I was Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, where I was bred, it is well known I never made nor held up any side. Indeed, when I was chosen President of that College, there was a bitter faction both raised and countenanced against me, (I will forbear to relate how and by whom;) but this is certain, I made no party then: for

four being in nomination for that Headship, I lay then so sick at London, that I was neither able to go down, nor so much as write to my friends about it. Yet after much tumble, a major part of the votes made choice of me. Thus I was chosen President, May 10, 1611. After this, my election was quarrelled at, and great means made against me; insomuch that the most gracious King, King James, sat to hear the cause himself, for the space of full three hours, August 28, at Tichburn in Hampshire, as he returned out of the western progress. Upon this hearing, his Majesty approved my election, and commanded my settlement; which was done accordingly at Michaelmas following. But the faction in the College finding such props above, as they had, continued very eager and bitter against me. The audit of the College for the year's accounts, and choice of new officers, followed in November: there so God blessed me with patience and moderation in the choice of all offices, that I made all quiet in the College. And for all the narrowness of my comprehen-

sions, I governed that College in peace, without so much as the shew of a faction, all my time, which was near upon eleven years. And the truth of all this is notoriously known, and many yet living of great worth in the Church, able and ready to avow it. And this, I hope, was not to lead on a side.

Secondly, My Lord charges my narrow comprehensions, as reaching no farther than a canvass for a Proctor's place. I was (with thanks to their love that thought me worthy) chose Proctor of the University, so soon as by Statute I was capable of it. But I never meddled in the managing of the canvass for it for myself: nor afterwards for any other, while I continued Fellow of the College. When I was chosen President, I continued so for two years, and meddled not in that business. And this I did, because in some things I did utterly dislike that canvass, and the carriage of it. At last some of the Senior Fellows came to me, and told me, that the College had been many years without the credit of a Proctor; and, that the Fellows began to take it ill at my hands, that I

would not shew myself, and try my credit and my friends in that business. Upon this, rather than I would lose the love of my companions, I did settle myself in an honest and fair way, to right the College as much as I could. And by God's blessing, it succeeded beyond expectation. But when we were at the strongest, I made this fair offer more than once and again, That if the greater Colleges would submit to take their turns in order, and not seek to carry all from the lesser, we would agree to any indifferent course in Convocation, and allow the greater Colleges their full proportion according to their number. This would not be hearkened unto; whereupon things continued some years.

After this, by his Majesty's grace and favour, I was made Bishop of St. David's; and after that, of Bath and Wells. When I was thus gone out of the University, the Election of the Proctors grew more and more tumultuous, till at the last the peace of the University was like to be utterly broken; and the divided parties brought up a complaint to the Council Table. The Lords were much troubled at it.

especially the Right Honourable William Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward, and their honourable Chancellor. I had by that time, and by the great grace of his now Majesty, the honour to be a Councillor, and was present. There I acquainted the Lords, what offers I had made during my time in the University, which I did conceive would settle all differences, and make peace for ever. The Lords approved the way; and after the Council was risen, my very honourable Lord the Earl of Pembroke desired me to put the whole business in writing, that he might see and consider of it. I did so: his Lordship approved of it, and sent it to the University, with all freedom to accept or refuse, as they saw cause. The University approved all, only desired the addition of a year or two more to the circle; which would add a turn or two more, to content some of the greater Colleges. This that honourable Lord yielded unto; and that form of election of their Proctors was, by unanimous consent, made a Statute in Convocation, and hath continued the University in peace ever since. And this is all the

carrying on of a canvass for a Proctor's place, which any truth can challenge me withal. And it may be, my Lord is pleased to impute narrow comprehensions to me, because my advice inclosed the choice of the Proctors within a circle. I am heartily sorry I should trouble the reader with these passages concerning myself; but my Lord forces me to it, by imputing so much unworthiness to me. But my Lord leaves not here, but goes on, and says worse of me :

“ Being suddenly advanced to highest
“ places of government in Church and
“ State, had not his heart enlarged by
“ the enlargement of his fortune; but
“ still the maintaining of his party
“ was that which filled all his thoughts;
“ which he prosecuted with so much
“ violence and inconsiderateness, that
“ he had not an eye to see the conse-
“ quences thereof to the Church and
“ State, until he had brought both
“ into those distractions, danger, and

“ dishonour, which we now find ourselves encompassed withal.

The next thing which my Lord charges me with is, that I was suddenly advanced to highest places of Government in Church and State. This is like the rest. And I dare say, when my Lord shall better consider of it, he will neither re-affirm nor avouch such an untruth. Suddenly advanced ! What does my Lord call suddenly ? I was eleven years his Majesty's Chaplain in Ordinary, before I was made a Bishop. I was a Bishop twelve years before I was preferred to be Archbishop of Canterbury, that highest place my Lord mentions. When I was made Archbishop, I was full threescore years of age, within less than one month. Whereas my immediate predecessor was not any one month in his Majesty's ordinary service as Chaplain, but far from that honourable indeed, but yet painful and chargeable service, and was made Bishop of Lichfield, of London, and of Canterbury, within the compass of two years, he being at the time of his translation to

Canterbury but forty-nine years of age; and yet never charged as a man suddenly advanced. But my advancement, which it seems pleased not my Lord so well as his did, was very sudden; which I leave to the impartial reader to judge.

Next being advanced to this high place, as my Lord calls it, (but now made low enough by his Lordship, and other of the same feather,) he says, I had not my heart enlarged with the enlargement of my fortune. Sure my Lord is mistaken again. For my heart (I humbly thank God for it) was enlarged every way as much as my fortune, and in some things perhaps more. But it may be my Lord meant, that my heart was not sufficiently enlarged, because I could not receive those Separatists into it (farther than to pray for them), which would not suffer the open bosom of the Church of England to receive them; but neglecting their father's commandment, forsook also their mother's instruction*.

Nor did I maintain any party; but any

* Prov. i. 8. and vi. 20.

22 *Charge of party severity false.*

Churchman, or any man else that loved order and peace in the Church, was very welcome to me. And I leave the world to judge, by what they now see, whether I or this Lord have practised or studied most the maintenance and advancement of a party. And as I did not maintain a party, so much less did it fill all my thoughts, (as narrow as my Lord thinks them.) Nor did I prosecute these or any other my thoughts, either with violence, or inconsiderateness. Not with violence; for I can name many, of whose preferment, under God and the King, I was cause, who yet went not with them, which my Lord will needs miscall my party. Nor did I punish either more, or more severely, any that were brought before me in the Commission, than were punished for the like offences in any the same number of years in my late predecessor's time: as will manifestly appear by the acts of the Court. Nor with inconsiderateness. For I have many witnesses that mine eye was open, and did plainly see, and as freely tell, (where I then hoped there might have been remedy,) what

was coming both upon Church and State, though not as consequences upon my proceedings; and I wish with all my heart, they were no more consequences upon my Lord's proceedings, than they have been upon mine.

And my Lord is extremely mistaken, to say that I brought both into those distractions, danger, and dishonour, with which they are now encompassed. For it is not I that have troubled this Israel of God. For God is my witness, I laboured nothing but the settlement of the decent external worship of God among us, which whatever some other men think, I know was sunk very low; and if in labouring this, I did err in any circumstance, (for in matter of substance I am sure I did not,) that may be forgiven me for humanity sake, which cannot free itself from error. But that which brought all these distractions both upon Church and State, was the bringing in of the Scots, and the keeping of them here at a vast charge, only to serve turns, and those very base ones: and to the debasing and dishonour of this whole nation, as well as the King. And how far this Lord

had his hand or his head in this treacherous business, he best knows. Sure I am, his Lordship is thought one of the chief moulders of this leaven of the Pharisees. But my Lord thinks himself safe enough; so he can cry me up among the rabble, to be the author of all. And not content with this, he insults farther upon me, as follows :

“ Yet to magnify his moderation, presently
“ after the breaking of the last Parlia-
“ ment, he told a Lord, who sits now
“ in my sight, that if he had been a
“ violent man, he wanted no occasion
“ to shew it. For he observed, that
“ the Lord Say never came to prayers ;
“ and added, that I was in his know-
“ ledge as great a Separatist as any
“ was in England.”

Whatever it was I said, was not to magnify my moderation. Nor do I remember, that ever I spake these words. Yet first, if any Lord will say, upon his honour, that I did say

these very words; I will bear him and the Peerage of the Realm that honour, as that I will submit and believe his testimony, against my own old now and weak memory. Next, upon enquiry made by some friends of mine, I find that the words I should speak are said to be these, that if I listed to take any advantage against this honourable Lord, I had as much exception to him, as to any Separatist in England. These words are neither so bold, nor so uncivil, as those in the charge; and perhaps I might speak these, though I remember it not. For during the last Parliament, not so few as ten or a dozen several Lords came to me of themselves, as I sat there, and complained grievously of this Lord's absenting himself from the prayers of the Church; and some of them wondered he was not questioned for the scandal he gave by it. And if any of them would be so mean, as to urge me to speak by speaking broad themselves, and then carry the tale to this noble Lord; he did that, whoever he were, which I hope was not the noblest of his actions; and if I did say these latter words of this great

Lord, I must and do say them again; and I heartily beseech God that this sin be not laid to my charge, that I questioned him not, when the times were calmer: for had I done that, I had done my duty; and if I had not cured him, perhaps I might have prevented so much common danger to this Church, as his Lordship hath procured since that time, both by his example, his counsel, and his countenance. And for the words, I doubt not, but he himself will be found to have made them good, before I have done examining this speech of his Lordship. In the mean time my Lord proceeds;

“ My Lords, how far he hath spit this
“ venom of his against me, I am not
“ certain; but I may well fear, where
“ it might do me greatest prejudice.
“ I shall therefore intreat your Lord-
“ ships’ favour and patience, that I
“ may give you in these things, which
“ so nearly concern me, a true account
“ of myself; which I shall do with
“ ingenuity and clearness, and so, as

“ that if I satisfy not all men, yet I
“ hope I shall make it appear, I am
“ not such a one, as this waspish man
“ was willing to make the world be-
“ lieve.”

I have spit no venom against his Lordship, much less have I spit any thing far. For this report, which is here called venom, is common through the kingdom. And I have already told you, what divers Lords said to me during the last Parliament. And that is no more, than hath been avowed unto me by very many others, and some of very good quality; so the spreading was to me, not from me. But yet, my Lord fears, I spread it where it might do him greatest prejudice. I know not what my Lord means by this, unless it be that I should spread it to his Majesty. And if that be his meaning, I will tell his Lordship truth, what I know therein. I was present, when I heard some Lords, more than once, tell the King, that the Lord Say was a Separatist from the Church of England, and would not come at her Common-Prayers.

And one of these Lords afterwards told me, he did conceive it was a great danger to this kingdom, when Noblemen should begin to separate in religion; and that his Majesty had need look to it. To this last, which was spoken to me in private, (but I will depose the truth of it,) I could not but assent. And to the former I then said, I had heard as much as was then told his Majesty; but I was not certain of it. And I doubt not, but these Lords sit in his Lordship's sight, as well as that Lord who told him the other of me: and not in his sight only, but in his affections also, as things go now. But however they carry it with him now, this they said of him then. Nor will I here pick a thanks, to tell this Lord what service I did him to his Majesty, when he was thought to be in danger enough; though I was chidden by a great one, that stood by, for my labour. I shall therefore intreat the Christian reader's favour and patience, that having hitherto given him a most true and clear account of that which my Lord charges me with, and doth nearly concern me; so I may proceed to the rest, which I do with

all ingenuity and truth. And so, as that if I satisfy not all men; yet I hope I shall make it appear, that I am not a waspish man, as my Lord would fain render me to the world. But if I have been a wasp in any Court, wherein I have had the honour to sit; yet his Lordship should not have called me so, considering what a hornet all men say he is in the Court of Wards, and in other places of business: where he pinches so deep, that discreet men are in a doubt, whether his aim be to sting the Wards, or the Court itself, to death first. For no man can believe, it is for the good of the King. And if I fail in this endeavour of mine to clear myself; I must desire the courteous reader to ascribe it, not to my cause, which is very good against his Lordship, but to the narrowness of my comprehensions, and my weakness compared with his Lordship's great abilities. And now my Lord charges as hard as he can. Thus;

“ For the first of these, which he charges
“ upon me; it may be, he was willing
“ to have it thought, that I would not

“ join in prayer with your Lordships,
“ but refused such a communion;
“ which is altogether false. For I
“ should most willingly join in prayers
“ with you. And farther, I will add,
“ that I do not think, but some set
“ Form of prayers, by some men in
“ some cases, may be lawfully used.

For this first ; I was not willing to have any thing thought of this Lord which is not true ; and if it be altogether false, (as his Lordship says it is,) that he will not join in prayers with the rest of the Lords in Parliament, but refuses such a communion ; I would fain know why his Lordship doth not join in prayer with them. For most undoubtedly he may if he will. And since it is most true, that he hath not come to prayers in the House with the rest of the Lords, not so much as once, either in the last Parliament, or this ; I think it may reasonably be concluded without any falsehood, that his Lordship will not join, no, not in such a communion with them. Where it is to be observed, he

His patronage of the Liturgy not needed. 31

says, he refuses not such a communion with them. He refuses not; yet he will not join: and he refuses not such a communion. A communion I have cause to doubt he doth refuse; but not such a communion as goes no farther than prayers; yet to these he comes not. At the Sacrament, I believe he will be more scrupulous, of whom, or with whom, he receives that.

Indeed, his Lordship adds, that he would most willingly join in prayers with their Lordships. And though this be most strange, that he should never do that, which he would most willingly do, an opportunity being offered him every day: yet, my Lord is pleased to add farther, what his judgment is of set Forms of prayer. And he tells you, that he thinks some set forms, by some men, in some occasions may be lawfully used. Surely, the Church of England is much beholding to this Lord; very much, and the State too. For the set Forms of Prayer which she enjoins, were compiled by some of those who suffered no less than Martyrdom, for the Reformation of Religion: the same Form of

Prayer was established by Act of Parliament ; and yet, as if Church and State were all at a loss, this noble Lord, who confesses some set Forms lawful, condemns this Form, by his actions at least, in continual and professed abstaining from it. Some Forms, but not this ; by some men, but not these ; in some cases, but not in God's public service in the Church, may be lawfully used. And yet for all these petty somes of restraint, I know his Lordship's parts so great, that I dare not say, (as he says of me,) that his Lordship is of narrow comprehensions. But his Lordship will now tell us, what that is, in which he is not satisfied.

“ But this is that, which I am not satisfied
“ in, that a certain number of men
“ should usurp an authority unto
“ themselves, to frame certain Prayers,
“ and Forms of Divine Service ; and
“ when that is done, under the name
“ of the Church to enjoin them upon
“ all persons, in all times, and upon
“ all occasions, to be used, and no

“ other. And upon this ground, (which
“ makes it the worse,) because these
“ come from the public spirit of the
“ Church, (when the Bishop or his
“ Chaplain shall frame them,) and
“ others proceed from the private
“ spirit of this or that particular
“ man.”

Now, truly, since my Lord does not think some set Forms of Prayer unlawful; I am very sorry his Lordship is not satisfied that a certain number of men should frame these Forms of Divine Service. For all Churchmen cannot possibly meet about that, or any other Church affair; nor can any Synod or Assembly be called, but there must be some certain number of them. Nor do these men usurp any authority to themselves herein: for in all ages of the Church, from Christ downward, all set Forms of Prayer, used in any Church, have been either made by a certain number of men, or approved by them, when some eminent servant of God hath composed them first, and then

34 *Church-work to be left to Churchmen.*

tendered them to the judgment of the Church. And it is very necessary that it should be so. Nor would the Church of old admit any prayers in the public Service and worship of God ; but such as were so made, and so approved ; lest through ignorance, or want of care and circumspection, something might slip in, that was contrary to the faith^f. But I fear here is *anguis in herba*. And that my Lord is not satisfied, not so much because these set Forms are made by a set number of men, as because they are Churchmen, though he be shy to express it. And if that be his meaning, he must rest unsatisfied still. For Churchmen, and none but Churchmen, must actually do public Church-work, according to their calling, and their warrant. And yet, I hope, Churchmen will never be so proud, but that if any lay religious man, of larger comprehensions than

^f Nec aliæ preces omnino dicantur in Ecclesiâ, nisi quæ à prudentioribus traditæ vel comprobatæ in Synodo fuerint ; ne fortè aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum. Concil. Milevita. 2 Can. xii. 23.

themselves, will offer in private any help to them, they will lend an open ear to it, and after, with a prudent consideration, do what is fit.

And as this Lord is not satisfied, that a certain number of men should make these set Forms; so much less is he satisfied, that when this is done, they should, under the name of the Church, enjoin them upon all persons, in all times, and upon all occasions, to be used, and no other. No set Forms, that I know, are enjoined under the name of the Church, but such as the Church in Synod hath approved, or tolerated till a Synod may be called. And when any National Church in a kingdom that is Christian, hath approved a set Form; yet that cannot be enjoined upon all persons, till the sovereign power in that state hath weighed, approved, and commanded it. But then, though framed by a certain number of men, that, and no other, lays hold on all persons, and in all times, and upon all occasions, that are public; if men will live in obedience to the Church and State. I say public, leaving all persons at all times, free to use any Form of

36 *To compose and to impose, different things:*

Prayer agreeable to the foundations of Christian religion, which shall best serve their several private occasions.

And therefore, I conceive, my Lord is in a great error in that which he adds next; namely, that this ground makes it the worse, because these set Forms are said to come from the public spirit of the Church.

I cannot think so hardly of my Lord, as if he could like a set Form of Prayer the worse, because it comes from the public spirit of the Church. And therefore I will take his words in another sense, (though they be in my judgment very obscurely set down,) and perhaps that is his Lordship's meaning. That it makes the matter the worse, because these Forms of Prayer come as from the public spirit of the Church, when it is but the Bishop or his Chaplain, or some private spirit, that frames them. If this be my Lord's meaning; far be it from me, or any other to impose any Form of set prayers upon the Church. But it is one thing to impose, and quite another to compose, a set Form of Prayer. Impose, none can but just

authority. Compose, all together cannot; but some one or more must be singled out to take that pains. And all or most may approve, what one or few have compiled. When it is so approved, then it can no more be said to proceed from any private spirit of this or that man, be it the Bishop or his Chaplain; but from the spirit and power of the Church. My Lord himself being a prudent man, hath had the happiness to make motions in Parliament, which have taken the House, been approved, and orders drawn up upon them: when the order is so agreed on, no man may say, it is an order of my Lord's private spirit, but the order of the House, and approved by the public spirit, and imposed by the public authority, of the State. And therefore to me it seems strange, that my Lord, who understands these things so well, should neither like of a set Form of prayers, composed by private men, nor by a certain number of men, and after publicly confirmed. Sure, this would make any man think my Lord likes none, however he minces it. But my Lord goes farther, and says,

38 *Confusion from absence of Liturgies.*

“ This injunction is an usurpation of
“ power over the Churches of Christ,
“ and over the gifts and graces which
“ Christ hath given unto men ; which
“ the Apostles never exercised, nor
“ would assume. And yet they
“ might much better have done it.
“ And the same reasons might have
“ been alleged for it that are now.
“ This turns such Forms, instead of
“ being directions, into superstition.”

It seems by this (for I am most willing to take my Lord's meaning at the fairest) that my Lord can digest some set Forms of Prayer ; but he would have no injunction upon them. So he that would use them might, and he that would not might choose ; and this in short time would bring mere confusion into the Church of God, which I hope is not my Lord's intention to do. Besides, my Lord cannot but know, that this injunction for our set Form of Service comes not from the Church's direction and constitution, (though her wisdom and piety

framed it,) but from the authority and power of King and Parliament. So that all the arguments which his Lordship brings here against the Church, are equally, if not more, set against the King and the Parliament. Well; why then is not an injunction of a set Form of Prayers fit? Why, my Lord tells you: first, because it is an usurpation of power over the Churches of Christ. It is indeed an act of power, but no usurpation. The Church directing and the Sovereign enacting, ever had this power since states became Christian. And should I have called it an usurpation of power, his Lordship, I fear, would have called it treason against the King's Supremacy. But I doubt my Lord would have the Churches free from regal power having ought to do with them, durst he speak out.

Secondly, because it is an usurpation of power over the gifts and graces which God hath given unto men. Not so neither. For whatsoever gifts or graces God hath given unto men, they may all have time, place, and occasions enough, to use them to God's glory, and the comfort of themselves and others; and

yet in the public service of God, submit to that set Form of God's worship, which is enjoined for unity and decency in that external Service. So this lays no restraint upon the gifts and graces of pious and religious men: but it keeps off bold, ignorant, and audacious men, from foaming out their own shame, to the great disorder and scandal of the Church of Christ. As we may see at this day, now that injunction begins to be but a little loosed, what froth and base stuff is preached to the consciences of men. And yet these men, which preach thus scandalously, talk of gifts and graces; none more.

Thirdly, because the Apostles never exercised, nor would assume, this power of enjoining a set Form, and yet they might better have done it. But how doth my Lord know, the Apostles never exercised, nor would assume this power? Out of all doubt the Apostles did exercise and assume many things, which are not come down to our knowledge. And since the Apostles did enjoin a form of doctrine to the Church of Rome, and delivered it too*. And since St. Paul

enjoined the Church at Philippi, to walk by a set rule, (for a rule it cannot be, unless it be set,) that so they might learn to mind the same things^h, and a form of Ordination by imposition of handsⁱ, for such persons as should instruct the people in these things. And this with a stiff injunction^k, and a form of wholesome words^l: and since St. John the Baptist taught his disciples to pray^m, and that it was by some set form of prayer; I have some reason to think, first, because if they did pray by the motion of the Spirit only, St. John could not teach them that, but the Spirit only. So either St. John taught them not at all to pray, which I hope this Lord will not say against a plain text; or else he taught them some set form, which was in his power and theirs to teach and learn. Secondly, because Christ's disciples seem to intimate so much. For they desire Christ to teach them to pray, as St. John taught his disciplesⁿ. And Christ, instantly granting their request, taught them a set Form

^h Phil. iii. 16.

ⁱ 1 Tim. v. 22.

^k Ver. 21.

^l 2 Tim. i. 13.

^m Luke xi. 1.

ⁿ Ver. 2.

of Prayer: therefore it is more than probable, that St. John taught his so too, though the Form be not recorded in Scripture. Upon all which laid together, it is probable enough (by my Lord's leave) that the Apostles did exercise some set Form, that at least which Christ taught them; and assumed power to enjoin it upon their followers. But herein yet the Apostles are somewhat beholding to this Lord, that he re-allows, they might better have done it, than any now-a-days. Well; I will not dispute what they might better have done; sure I am, it may and ought to be done now.

Fourthly, because the same reasons might then have been alleged for it, that are now. The same might, but not all the same. In particular, the Church was small then, and might with ease be ordered, in comparison of the great congregations that are now. But especially the Apostles and Apostolical men were then present, and could in another manner, and with a greater power than men now-a-days both judge and order the gifts and graces of other men, to the avoiding of confusion

Liturgies most ancient of Church Forms. 43

in the Church, which God by his Apostles would none of^o.

Besides, the Apostles, and some others in those times, had the grace and the gift of prayer, as well as other graces. And there was then as peculiar a gift by inspiration to pray, as to foretel things to come, or to do miracles. As is evident in St. Chrysostom, who says, that these men made use of this gift, and prayed publicly in their assemblies^p. But so soon as this gift with others ceased, there was a set Form from the beginning. Neither is it hard to prove, that some parts of our Liturgy hath been as ancient as the Church hath any records to shew; and some both practised and prescribed by the Apostle St. Paul for the substance of them. And the true reason why we cannot shew the exact primitive Forms then in use is, because they were continually subject to alterations, both in times and places. Now if this Lord can furnish us with such men, as shall be enabled to pray by the immediate

^o 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

^p St. Chrysostom in Rom. viii. 26.

44 *Heretical not to receive the IV Councils.*

inspiration of God's Spirit, we will bind them up to no Form: but until he can, I hope we shall be so happy, as to retain the set prayers of the Church.

Fifthly, because this (enjoining) turns such Forms, instead of being directions, into superstition. This is so wild a conceit, that I wonder how it fell into the thought of so wise a man as my Lord is taken to be. For can a command or an injunction alter the very nature of a thing so far, as to turn that which is a direction, into a superstition? Then belike it is superstition, for any Christian to obey the decrees and injunctions, whether for belief or practice, made by any the four first General Councils. And my Lord knows well that it is heretical, for any man to profess against any of these Councils. And this not only by the Church law, (which his Lordship so much slights,) but by the laws of England. So by this reason of my Lord's, it shall be heretical to deny the Injunction, and superstition to obey it^a.

If this will not serve; my Lord may be pleased to remember, that in the Council held at Jerusalem by the Apostles themselves^r, they gave a command, though no such command as might trouble the believing Gentiles; and therefore decreed, that they would lay no greater burthen on them. No more grievous injunction, than that they abstain from things offered unto idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication^s; where, first, it is most evident, that the Apostles did assume this power of enjoining, and exercise it too. And I hope, my Lord, for very reverence to the Scripture, (for as for the Church he valueth it not,) will not say this wholesome direction to avoid fornication, is made superstition by the Apostle's injunction. If this doctrine may hold, I doubt very few will be superstitious in this point. And many men, that are very strict and hate superstition perfectly, will rather not abstain from fornication, than be superstitious by abstaining. And no question can be made by a reasonable man, but that the Church of

^r Acts xv. 24, 29.^s Ver. 28.

46 *Set Forms do not thrust out gifts.*

Christ had and hath still as much power to enjoin a set Form of Prayers, as any of these things. But my Lord hath more reasons than these; and truly they had need be better too. But such as they are, they follow:

“ This sets aside the gifts and graces
“ which Christ hath given; and
“ thrusts out the exercise of them,
“ to substitute in their places, and
“ introduce a device of man.”

Sixthly, then this injunction of a set Form is unlawful, because it sets aside the gifts and graces, &c. This is upon the matter all one with my Lord's second reason; and there it is answered. Yet truly I know no gifts or graces set aside, much less thrust out, but such as are neither gifts nor graces of Christ, but the bold and impudent attempts of weavers, cobblers, and felt-makers, taking on them to preach without knowledge, warrant, or calling. Much like the gifts, which Alexander the coppersmith had in St. Paul's time. And such gifts and

graces as these cannot be said to be thrust out. But my Lord and his adherents thrust them into the Church, to help cry down all truth and order. Much less can they be said to be thrust out to make room for a device of man, meaning the set Form of Common Prayer. Now surely, I think, and upon very good grounds, that they which composed the Common Prayer Book, had as good gifts and graces of Christ as these men have. And that the conceived, and oftentimes senseless, prayers of these men, are as much or more the device of man, than the set Form of Common Prayer is. Yea, but for all that, my Lord says,

“ This injunction of such Forms upon all
“ men, turns that which in the begin-
“ ning necessity brought in, for the
“ help of insufficiency, to be now the
“ continuance and maintenance of
“ insufficiency, and a bar to the ex-
“ ercise of able and sufficient gifts
“ and graces. . As if because some
“ men had need to make use of

48 *Forms not used because of insufficiency.*

“ crutches, all men should be prohibited
“ the use of their legs, and enjoined
“ to take up such crutches, as have
“ been prepared for those who had no
“ legs.”

In the seventh and last place, my Lord is pleased to tell us, this injunction of such Forms upon all men, turns that, which in the beginning necessity brought in for the help of insufficiency, to the maintenance of it. My Lord told us a little before, of a turning into superstition: now here is another turning into the maintenance of insufficiency; two very bad turnings, were either of them true: but, God be thanked, neither is. In the mean time my Lord confesses, that necessity brought in this injunction of set Forms. And I believe, there now is, and ever will be, to the end of the world, as great a necessity to continue them. But I cannot agree with my Lord in this, that it was a necessity for the help of insufficiency that brought them in. For when these were first enjoined in the Church of Christ, men

were endued with as great gifts and graces, as any now are; and perhaps greater. But necessity brought them in when Christianity multiplied, to preserve unity and order, and to avoid confusion, and sects and schisms in the Church: and that all sorts of men might be acquainted with that, which was used in the public worship and service of God.

Now that which follows is an unjust and foul scandal upon the Church; namely, that this Injunction is made the continuance and maintenance of insufficiency. For I believe few Churches in many ages have had more sufficient preachers than this of late hath had. And therefore it is evident, this Injunction here hath neither been the maintenance nor continuance of insufficiency. This ground failing, my Lord's fine simile hath neither crutch nor leg to stand on; but it is as all such fine fetches are, when they have no ground to rest on: nor is any thing more poor in learning, than a fine, handsome similitude, such as this, when it hath no truth upon which to rest. For the best that

can be said of it is, that it is a pretty fine thing, if it were to the purpose.

But to come nearer to the business; I would have his Lordship remember, that Christ taught his Apostles a set Form of prayer^t. And I believe they were so religiously dutiful, as that they would not beg of Christ to teach them to pray, and when he had taught them, then neglect or not practise the very Form he taught. If my Lord can think this of the Apostles, he may; I cannot. Nor can I think, that Christ taught them this Form, to be used as crutches till their legs were grown stronger. For our Saviour doth not say, till ye be stronger, and have better gifts, pray as I teach you; but simply and absolutely, When you pray, say, Our Father, &c. that is, say these very words, this very Form. And what? will my Lord say that Christ taught them this Form to maintain them in insufficiency? or did he make crutches for their lameness? or thereby prohibit the use of their legs? This speech

^t Luke xi. 2.

savours of more profaneness, than well become such a professor.

His Lordship speaks better of them in another place^u. There he can say, there never were, nor ever will be, men of so great abilities and gifts as they were endued withal. And I think he dares not say, I am sure, nor he, nor any man living, can prove, that the Apostles, when their gifts were at fullest, did neglect or not use this Form of prayer which Christ taught them. Therefore, either to use a set Form of prayer is not to use crutches; or if it be, it is to use the same, or the like crutches, which Christ made, and his Apostles used. And they will better beseem any good Christians to use, than his own legs, be they never so good. And for the set prayers of the Church, this I think I am sure of; that the men which are cried up by my Lord to have such excellent gifts and graces, are in as much need of these crutches as other men. In the mean time, my Lord every way shews his love to the set Liturgy of the

^u In his Speech against the Bishops' votes in Parliament, p. 3.

Church, that makes nothing of it but crutches ; which a man, if the bath cure him, would gladly hang up, and leave behind him. I well hoped to have found, that my Lord had entertained more moderate thoughts of things appertaining unto religion. But since he himself thus proclaims it otherwise ; let us see how he goes forward without these crutches.

“ This I confess I am not satisfied in ;
“ yet will farther say thus much.
“ Here are with your Lordships some
“ Bishops, men of great parts, able to
“ offer up this worship unto God, in
“ the use of those gifts which God
“ hath endued them with. And cer-
“ tainly they ought to serve Him with
“ the best of their abilities which they
“ have received. Let them make use
“ of their own gifts ; nay, let them
“ but profess, that they account not
“ themselves bound to use Forms,
“ nor to this Form they use, more
“ than any other ; but that it is free

“ for them to conceive prayer, or to
“ help themselves by the use of any
“ other Form they please, as well as
“ this prescribed. And let them
“ practise the same indifferently, that
“ so it may be manifest, the fault
“ rests in the person, and not in the
“ service : in the negligence of him
“ that may offer better if he will, not
“ in the injunction of that which is
“ offered. And I will not refuse to
“ come to prayers. For I take the
“ sin then to be personal, and to
“ reside in the person officiating only.”

Now my Lord goes on farther, and tells us,
That there are with your Lordships some
Bishops ; men of great parts, able to offer this
worship unto God, &c. Indeed my Lord goes
far here ; and I am glad to hear that any
Bishops can please him. Are Bishops, even as
such, members of Antichrist, (so I am sure my
Lord and his followers have accounted them,
and their libels print them for such every day,)

and now can any offer this worship unto God, which his Lordship would have? Why then, my Lord can be pleased, I see, that even in this Church, God should be worshipped by the members of Antichrist. Or if not, then in this passage he grossly dissembles.

But what is this worship which his Lordship would have? Why, it is to pray in public, and not by a set Form enjoined; but in the use of those gifts which God hath endued them with. And it is most undoubtedly true which follows, that they ought to serve God with the best of the abilities they have received. But it is as true, that Bishops, and all Ministers else, ought to serve God with the best abilities which the Church of Christ can furnish them with. And I presume, I shall not wrong any my brethren, nor those of the greatest parts, if I say, (as I must,) that those Bishops, and other divines, which composed the set Form of our Service, and enjoined it too, (as far as their power reached,) were men of as great piety and learning, and all other good parts, as any now living. And it can be no disparagement; much

less any fault or dulling of their own gifts, for the best of Bishops to use the set Forms ordered by them. And the phrase, which my Lord uses, is somewhat unusual: To offer this worship unto God. We are said indeed to offer up our prayers unto God, and by so doing to worship, honour, and serve him; and him alone in that. But to offer worship to God, I think is an improper phrase at least. And the people are said to offer their free-will-offerings with an holy worship, or in the beauties of holiness^x. And though perhaps his Lordship will not allow of this translation; yet so far he may, as to see the use of the phrase^y. And in the beauties of holiness (which keeps close to the original) will please him less: since a barn with them is as good as a Church. And no Church holy with them; but that which is slovenly, even to nastiness. But then, it is void of all superstition.

Next, my Lord proposes some conditions, which being observed, his Lordship will not refuse to come to Common Prayer.

^x Ps. cx. 3. ^y In decoribus sanctitatis, Ar. Mant. *ibid.*

I will examine these then. For I would have all just demands of his granted, that he may come.

The first is, Let these Bishops (and others I suppose he means) make use of their own gifts. Well; let them on God's name, in that dutiful, peaceable, and orderly way, make use of their own gifts, not crossing what the Church justly prescribes.

Secondly, Let them but profess, that they account not themselves bound to use Forms. This condition is somewhat hard. For if they shall acknowledge they hold themselves bound to no Forms, they must be bound to no Order: and how Bishops will keep the Church in order, if they will be bound to observe none themselves, I cannot tell. Besides, if they shall profess this, they must profess against the constant and continued practice of the whole Church of Christ.

Thirdly, Let them profess they are not bound to this Form they use more than any other, but that it is free for them to conceive prayer, &c. Harder and harder. For they stand bound not

only by Church-ordinance, but by Injunction, and command of the State in Parliament, strictly to observe this Form. And they are therefore bound to this Form more than any other. And therefore so long as this Act of Parliament remains in force, with what honour or conscience can this Lord (who seems to stand so much upon law) ask this at the Bishops' hands, that they should profess that they are not bound to any Forms? Nor, to this more than any other; when his Lordship must needs know, they are bound to this, and no other, and that by an Act of Parliament. Besides, what a coil hath been kept by some of this Lord's favourites, against innovations of religion, as contrary to law? No rails to fence the holy table from profanation? Though that be no ceremony, nor forbidden by law. No coming up to it, or the steps of the chancel, to receive the Communion, though most decent, and in ancient usage, and forbidden by no law that I know? No reverence to God Himself at coming in or going out of his temple; though that of the Psalmist began the ancient Liturgies

of the Church, and is continued in our O come, let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker², &c. The Communion Table must not stand north and south; though the Queen's Injunction commanded it to be set just in that place, in which the Altar then stood. So they innovate themselves; and then cry out of innovation. And if this Lord's doctrine be good; let us have no Injunction for north and south, and all is well: but then we must have no Injunction for east and west neither. For if there be an Injunction, east and west is superstition, as well as north and south.

But then, if my Lord would have all free, what would he have in this particular? Why, first, he would have it free for these men to conceive prayer. Let them in due time and place conceive prayer on God's name: but let them not make public abortion in the Church. It is an over-hasty mother, that brings forth so soon as she has conceived: and yet, extemporary men outrun these mothers; and conceive and

² Ps. xcv. 6.

bring forth their unnatural monsters both at once.

Next, he would have these men to help themselves by the use of any other Forms they please, as well as this which is prescribed. So then belike, these great men of gifts in my Lord's eye, are not so perfect in the spirit, but that they may need helps. And if my Lord be so indifferent, that these may help themselves by the use of any other Forms, as well as this which is prescribed; let him be as fair, at least, to the Church that made him a Christian, as to others; and give men leave to help themselves, by the use of this Form which is prescribed, as well as any other. And if it be the Injunction only that sticks in his stomach, I am sorry he should shew himself so guilty of the great sin of disobedience.

Fourthly, Let them practise the same indifferently, that so it may be manifest the fault rests in the person, and not in the service, &c. This is his Lordship's last condition. And either I am dulled with this business; or the expression is somewhat obscure: but I will take

it as right as I can. It seems, my Lord would not refuse coming to the prayers of the Church for the personal fault of him that officiates : and that is well. It seems likewise, that to manifest this, whether the sin lies in the person that offers, or in the Service that is offered up, his Lordship would have an indifferent practice of that which is enjoined and other Forms. And that is stark naught. For by this, we shall have no certain Service of God for the people. It shall differ, and, perhaps, more dangerously than is fit ; not only in different parishes, but in the same congregatiou, at different times. And were not this so, yet I cannot assent to my Lord in this, that these men he means, can so easily offer better if they will ; and that when they do not, it is their negligence that is the only cause. And besides, it is useless : for it is known already to sober minds, that the fault (when any arises in that work) is neither in the Service, which is very good ; nor in the Injunction, which is very lawful ; but in the person which officiates, if he do not his duty : and so there is no need of a confused practising of

yet that no warrant for schism. 61

divers Forms indifferently, to manifest that, which is known already. And if my Lord brings no worse sins about him, when he comes to church, than he will find faults in the Liturgy; he may safely come to church, and be a happy man in so doing. And I might well doubt of my Lord's meaning herein; for himself is jealous of his auditors. Therefore he adds;

“ I know not, whether I express myself
“ clearly, to be understood in this or
“ not; and it may seem to be a nice
“ scrupulosity: give me leave there-
“ fore to endeavour to clear it by an
“ instance or two.”

Truly my Lord takes himself right. For neither hath he expressed himself very clearly; nor is the matter so material in itself, but that it may be, as it seems, a very nice scrupulosity, and altogether unable to warrant his Lordship's separation from the prayers of the Church. Yet since my Lord desires to clear it by an

instance or two, I shall be well content to hear and consider of them. His first instance is,

“ In the time of the Law, when God ap-
“ pointed Himself to be worshipped by
“ offerings and sacrifices; the shadows
“ and types of those truths which
“ were to come: if a poor man, which
“ had not ability to bring a bullock,
“ or a ram, or a lamb, had brought a
“ pair of turtle doves, or two young
“ pigeons; it would have been in him
“ an acceptable service. But if a
“ man of ability, who had herds and
“ flocks, should, out of negligence or
“ covetousness, have spared the cost
“ of a bullock or ram, and brought
“ young pigeons; his service would
“ have been rejected, and himself
“ punished. How much more would
“ the service have been abomination,
“ if men should have taken authority
“ to have enjoined all, to bring no
“ other but turtles, or young pigeons;

“ because some were not able to do
“ more ? In one kind there might be
“ a tolerable and lawful [use] of that,
“ which otherways used (especially
“ if generally enjoined) would have
“ been most unlawful. God will be
“ worshipped with the fat, and best of
“ the inwards ; the best of men’s gifts
“ and abilities, which he that worships,
“ or officiates in worshipping, is to do
“ at his own peril. And if it be left
“ free unto him, the worship may be
“ lawful to him, that joineth with him
“ therein, in itself, though performed
“ in a negligent, and so in a sinful,
“ manner, by the minister. But if
“ that manner be enjoined, the service
“ itself is to be refused.”

This is my Lord’s first instance from the services under the Law. And I must needs say, he hath made it clear what he would have. But then, he must give me leave to say too, that this instance differs so mainly from the

thing in question; that it helps my Lord and his cause in nothing. Perhaps it makes it worse than it was.

The difference is: God in the Law did not only prescribe all the sacrifices and offerings which he would have, and for what: but also when, and how he would have them. And the poor man which had not ability to bring the greater sacrifice, might, by the express letter of the law, bring turtles or pigeons^a. But if a rich man had brought them, his service would have been rejected, and himself punished. So says my Lord: but the Law says not so. He that brought it, should have borne his sin, and the Priest could have made no atonement for him; which was punishment enough. But that he should any other way be punished, I find not in the text of the Law. And this Lord, which will admit of nothing but text, should not presume to add any thing to it. The Rabbins indeed^b reckon up six and thirty kinds of offenders, which for their sins are threatened to be cut off

^a Levit. v. 7.

^b Apud Ainsworth in Levit. xx. 3.

from their people ; and some are mentioned ^c. But none of these mentioned in Leviticus, or by the Rabbins, is the rich man's offering turtles or pigeons, instead of a bullock or a ram. Well, this was the strict prescription of sacrifices and offerings in the Law. But in the Gospel, though Christ settled his doctrine and Sacraments ; yet when, and how, with other ceremonial things, were left at large to the ordering of the Apostles, and the Church after them ; always providing for decency and order. And this liberty was left as much, if not more, in preaching and public prayer, than in the Sacraments. And therefore my Lord's instance in this way, will not follow from the Law to the Gospel.

To give instance in his own words. In the Law ; The poor man which had nor bullock, nor lamb, might by the express warrant of the Law bring turtles or pigeons ; but they were to be his own which he brought ; and the Priest was to make his atonement accordingly. But in the Gospel men do not bring to the Priest

^c Levit. vii. 25. and xvii. 4, 9, 10.

or Minister their own doctrines, or their prayers; but he offers in public the Sermon to them, and the prayers for them. So here the instance comes not home neither.

As for my Lord's aggravation; How much more would the Service have been abomination, if men should have taken authority to themselves, and have enjoined all to bring nothing but turtles or pigeons? Indeed it would have been full of abomination; because in this injunction they would have gone quite contrary to God's own command. And let my Lord shew in the Gospel any precept, that commands men to use extemporary or conceived prayers, in the public service or worship of God; or that forbids the use of a set Form of Prayer; and then I will grant the Church's injunction of such Forms to be in the highest degree unlawful. But these cannot be shewed.

Besides, there is a great deal of pride in this instance. For my Lord all along the instance, makes the set Forms of the Church, turtles and pigeons, the poor man's sacrifice; and the conceived prayers of his party, to be the rich

and able men's sacrifice, the ram and the bullock, (the calf I doubt it is.) So a very little before, his Lordship tells us, of a negligence in those his men of gifts, which might offer better if they will. As if it were a most easy thing for those men to offer up far better prayers to God, than the set Liturgy of the Church. Whereas my Lord must give me leave to doubt that, even of the best of them. And so again a little after, his Lordship tells us, that God will be worshipped with the fat and the best of the inwards, which he interprets with the best of men's gifts and abilities; and of this there is no doubt. Nor doth the enjoining of a set Form of public prayer hinder any man from worshipping God with the best gifts and abilities which he hath. And who should be served with the best, if not He that gave them all? But here is the pride of the instance again: their conceived, tedious, and oftentimes senseless prayers, must be the fat and the inwards with which God is pleased; and the set Forms of the Church lean carrion, and not fit for the Altar. O, my Lord, that you would in time

68 *Do Injunctions make good Forms bad?*

lay your hand on your heart, and consider from what and into what you are fallen !

My Lord concludes this instance with this, that if it be left free to him that officiates, it is his personal sin if he be negligent ; but it may be lawful for another that joins with him in that service : but if that manner be enjoined, the service itself is to be refused. And after this great pride in or of this opinion, my Lord ends with a fallacy^d. For the question is not, whether a negligent set Form of prayer, or a good Form of set prayer, negligently and without devotion offered up to God, (as too often they are, God help us,) be better than other prayers, carefully composed and devoutly uttered ? But simply, whether a good set Form of prayer (such as the Liturgy of England is) be made so evil, only by the enjoining of it, as that therefore the service itself ought to be refused ? Now this my Lord may say as boldly

^d It is *fallacia accidentis* : for it is not in or of the nature of prayer, that it should be in a negligent Form set down, or negligently performed : but a mere accident, and a bad one.

as he will; but neither he nor any man else shall ever be able to prove it.

And in this very close, I cannot but observe, that which in me or another man would have been great pride: but what it is in this Lord, let the reader judge. For he doth not conclude, that this Form being enjoined, is the cause why he refuses to come to our prayers. But absolutely, as if all men were bound to do as he doth. He says peremptorily, that in this case of injunction of a set Form, the service itself ought to be refused. So that by this doctrine, he is a sinner that refuses not the prayers of the Church of England. My Lord in the beginning asked leave to speak a few words concerning himself; but I believe these will be found to concern somebody else. Well, it is time to consider of my Lord's second instance; and so I will.

“ Now in the time of the Gospel, God
“ hath appointed the foolishness of
“ preaching (for so the world ac-
“ counts it) to be the means by which

“ He will save those that believe. I
“ conceive, where there are not gifts
“ enabling men to preach, there might
“ be a lawful and profitable use of
“ reading of printed Sermons and
“ Homilies; and in such cases they
“ might very lawfully be heard. But
“ if some men, upon pretence to pre-
“ vent extravagant preaching, should
“ take upon them to set forth a book
“ of public common Sermons, fit for
“ all times and occasions; and should
“ enjoin Ministers to conform to these,
“ and use no other preaching at all,
“ but the reading of those common
“ Sermons or Homilies so devised
“ for public worship; this would make
“ it utterly unlawful, and to be pro-
“ fessed against, as that which were
“ the bringing in of a human device
“ and injunction in the place, and
“ instead of, God’s ordinance, to the
“ exclusion thereof. As the Phari-
“ sees, to establish traditions of their

not the means, of salvation. 71

“ own, made void the commandments
“ of God.”

I hope my Lord will have no better success with this instance under the Gospel, than he had with that under the Law. And yet whatsoever is truth in his instance, I shall most willingly grant. And therefore I do acknowledge, that in the time of the Gospel, God appointed the foolishness of preaching^e to be a means; but not to be *the* means (if it be meant the only means) by which He will save those that believe. I likewise confess, that in the world's account it is made the foolishness of preaching. And I would to God some men, much magnified in these times, did not give too often very just cause to the world to account it, not only the foolishness, but the madness, of preaching; such preaching as is far from being a means of salvation. I conceive also, as well as my Lord, that where there are no gifts enabling men to preach, (as it falls out in too many parishes in England, and the true cause

^e 1 Cor. i. 21.

is, the smallness of the living, unable to feed and clothe men, and therefore cannot expect men of parts,) there not only might be, but is, a lawful and profitable use of reading of printed Sermons and Homilies ; and that in such cases, yes, and in other cases too, they may very lawfully be heard. And I think farther, that if some men, not upon their own private authority, but lawfully meeting in the Synod or Convocation, shall, not upon pretence, but truly to prevent extravagant preaching, such as of late hath been, and is too common in England, should take upon them to set forth a book of common Sermons, such as might be fit for all times and all occasions, which is not impossible to be done, and should enjoin Ministers to conform to these, and use no other preaching at all, but the reading of these common Sermons or Homilies so devised for public worship ; I must needs say, it were a cure not to be used but in extremity, to bar all other preaching for the abuse of some, be it never so gross. Yet if the distempers of the pulpit should grow in any national Church so high, so seditious, so

heretical and blasphemous, so schismatical and outrageous, as many of them have been of late in this distracted Church of ours; I say, if such a book of Sermons should be so set out, by the Church's direction, and published by the authority of King and Parliament, as the Book of Common Prayer is: when the comparison is made thus even, and my Lord's instance so brought home^f: I do then think, such a book, not devised for public worship, but for public instruction, (for Sermons are not properly the worship of God, but are to teach us faith and obedience, and how we are to pray and give worship to Him,) might be used with great profit; yea, and with far more than many Sermons of the present time, which do in a

^f In the Church of Africa, when the Arian heresy began, the Church had suffered so much by the preaching of Arius the Presbyter, that they made a law not to suffer any Presbyter to preach at all, at least not in the Mother Church, and in the Bishop's presence. As may be seen in Socrates, l. v. Hist. c. 22. And though this may seem a hard cure, yet when the disease grew masterful and epidemical, the Church did not refuse to use it.

manner teach nothing but disobedience to Princes and all authority, under a false pretence of obedience to God.

And for the Injunction which sticks so much with my Lord; certainly in cases of such extremity, as is above mentioned, and when nothing else will serve, I conceive it might well and profitably be laid upon the Ministers; and yet that such an imposition would be far from making it utterly unlawful, and to be professed against, as that which were the bringing in of a human device in the place, and instead of, God's ordinance, to the exclusion thereof. For it is probable, these Sermons my Lord speaks of would be preached before they were printed. And the end of their being preached, was to publish Christ and his Gospel to the world. And that also was or ought to be the end of publishing the same Sermons in print, that the benefit of them might reach the farther, and be of longer continuance. So that upon the matter, the printing of Sermons, is but a large and more open preaching of them still. And then if preaching be God's ordinance, printing

of Sermons is the publishing of God's ordinance. And, therefore, if there were an injunction for a book of Sermons, as is mentioned; it were but a more public and durable divulging of God's ordinance; and not the bringing in of a human device instead of it, and to the exclusion thereof.

As for that which follows, that this is like the Pharisees, who, to establish traditions of their own, made void the commandments of God. This is but a simile, and is answered in the former. And you see, that should any necessity force the making of such an Injunction, (which God forbid,) it did help to publish God's ordinance, and not make void his commandments. Howsoever, my Lord may take this along with him: that that party, which he governs in this kingdom, are as well seen in this art of the Pharisees, as any men in Christendom; and will, if they be let alone, make void all the service of God, to bring in their dreams, against all reason, religion, and lawful authority. And this is most true, whatever they think of themselves. But my

Lord desires farther consideration of his instance.

“ Let it be considered, what difference can
“ be found between these, but only
“ this. Use and custom hath inured
“ us to that of prayer, not so in this
“ of preaching; and therefore the
“ evil of it would easily appear unto
“ us, if so enjoined.”

It is fit my Lord should have his desire in this; that it be considered what difference can be found between these: and out of all doubt my Lord acknowledges, that some difference there is. And were it this only, (as his Lordship would have it,) That use and custom hath inured us to that of prayer, and not so in this of preaching; that might be reason enough to continue our public set Form of prayer. For if the service have not fault in it, but that it is enjoined: and if the enjoining of a good service of God Almighty, in which Christian people may consent, and unanimously and

uniformly worship Him, be no fault at all, as most certain it is not; it is neither wisdom nor safety to cast off such a custom or usage, and leave every Minister (and perhaps other men too) to make what prayers they please in the congregation, which doubtless would be many times such, as no good understanding Christian could say Amen to.

Besides, with my Lord's leave, upon the consideration which he desires me to take, I think I have found other differences. For, besides the use and custom which we are inured to, I find, that to have some set Form of Prayer, when the congregation meets, is little less than *Traditio Universalis*^g, an Universal

^g It is universal for time. For it is testified by Dionysius the Areopagite, (if those works be his,) *De Ecclesia Hierar.* p. 77. Edit. Gr. Lat. and he was one of the contemporaries of the Apostles, that there were then set Forms of Prayer, to which all the people said Amen. And if Dionysius were not the author, yet the work is exceeding ancient. And so some set Forms continued, till after St. Augustine's time, as appears by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 2. p. 97. Edit. Gr. Lat. An. Christi 150. by Tertull. *Apologet.* c. 39. An. Christi

Tradition of the whole Church. And that it took beginning, while some of the Apostles were

200. by St. Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. by Origen, Hom. 5. in Num. An. Christi 230. by the Council of Laodicea, Can. 18. 19. An. Christi 316. by St. Basil, Epist. ad Clericos Næocæsariensis Ecclesiæ; by St. Chrysostom both about the same year. As also by St. Cyril of Jerusalem By the third Council of Carthage, can. 23. An. Christi 397. by St. Aug. Ep. 59. and 156. et de Bono Perseverantiæ, c. 13. An. Christi 400. By the second Meletitan Council, can. 12. And by Prosper Aquitan. L. q. de Vocat. Gent. c. 4. since which time no question can be made, but the public prayers were always in a known and set Form.

And that it was universal for place, appears by the concurrent testimonies of the Fathers before recited, and the Councils and the practice both of the Asian, African, and European Churches. As Justin Martyr, Basil, and Chrysostom, for the Greek; and Tertullian, Cyprian, St. Augustine, and Prosper, testify for the West. Insomuch, that St. Basil says expressly in that place, that for the order of singing the Psalms in their public Service, it was agreeable to all the Churches of God: which place is also cited by Whitaker ad Ration. 6. Campiani. And divers particulars in their set Form of Prayer remain to this day in the Liturgy of the Church of England. As that there should be recited a general Confession of the

yet living, and hath continued from thence in all ages and places of the Church to this day.

Faith. Dionysius Areopag. de Ecclesia Hierar. p. 88. Edit. Gr. Lat. That prayers were made for Emperors and men in authority; and for the peace and quiet of the world: so Tertullian. That the Presbyter should exhort them to lift up their hearts; and the people answer, We lift them up unto the Lord: so St. Cyprian and St. Augustine. The interrogations and answers in Baptism: so Origen. That prayers should be made, not only for the faithful, but for infidels and enemies to the Cross of Christ: so Prosper. And it is preserved in our Collect for Good Friday. And the people's praying with and answering the Pastor, saying, Lord, have mercy upon us, with Christ, have mercy upon us, was before St. Gregory's time, and continued down to ours, yet with difference from the Mass-Book too. As Dr. Rainolds proves, Conf. with Hart. c. D. Divi. 4. p. 511.

But howsoever set Forms they were, and such as in some particulars, *ferè omnis Ecclesia Dominica*, almost all the Church of Christ used. So St. Augustine. And there is *nulla pars mundi*, scarce any part of the world, in which there is not a concordant, an agreement in these prayers: so Prosper. Which is impossible to be but by a set Form. And so the Magdeburgians conclude upon due examination: *Formulas denique precationum absque dubio habuerunt*: out of all doubt the ancients had set Forms of Prayer, Cent. 3. c. 6.

80 *Particular Ch^s. not free from Catholic rules.*

Now, though particular customs and traditions vary and may be varied in several Churches; yet I do not find there is such a power over traditions that are general; but that next to the Scripture itself, they are kept by all sober Christians inviolable. And St. Augustine says plainly^h, it is *insolentissimæ insanix*, a trick of most insolent madness, to dispute or doubt of that, *quod tota per orbem frequentat Ecclesia*, which the Church of Christ practises throughout the whole world. And for my part I believe him; and I would my Lord did so too, and then I think he would not refuse the Service for the Injunction, nor fall into any fit of this insolent madness. As for preaching, that was ever left free. And therefore the Church did ever put a difference.

And I find upon this consideration another difference yet, between prayer and preaching. For preaching is a speech to man for his edification, and instruction in faith and good life. But prayer is a speech to God, to honour and worship Him, in the acknowledgment of His

^h Epist. 118. c. 5.

dominion over, and his bounty and goodness towards, all creatures; but mankind especially. And therefore, though a man cannot take too much pains in that which he is to speak from God to man, lest he be proved a false relater: yet of the two, there should be more care had, what prayers he puts up for himself and the whole congregation unto God; lest he be not only a false worshipper, but also, lest he suddenly and unadvisedly ask that, which may be hurtful unto all. And, for ought he knows, God may at that time be angry with us for our sins, and may hear in his anger, and grant. And, I believe, it will be found a greater and more dangerous sin, for the Priest to make the people ask at God's hands those things which they ought not. Besides, the public prayers of the Church do teach and inform the people, not only how to pray, and so how to worship; but in many things also, what to believe, as well, nay, oftentimes better, than many Sermons. So that ill praying in public contains almost all the mischiefs that ill preaching hath in it, over and above all the ill that is proper to itself: and

so is the more dangerous sin. And therefore the Church cannot be too careful for a set and known Form for public prayer ; yea, and that enjoined too, so it be well weighed beforehand ; though for preaching she leave a greater latitude. So, upon consideration, I think there is more difference between a set Form of prayer, and a set Form of preaching, than that we are invited to the one, and not to the other. Yet, when I hear what extravagant, nay seditious, preaching there is now-a-days, I am strongly tempted to believe, that were the like injunction for preaching, it were far better, than that such loose, dangerous, and most unchristian preachings, as are in many places, should continue. It seems, my Lord hath now done with the first part of the waspish-man's charge against him, (for so he is pleased to call it.) And that is his Lordship's account why he refuses to come to Common-Prayer. And now he goes on to the next.

“ My Lords, let me presume upon your
“ patience, so far farther, as to give

“ me leave to speak to the other
“ imputation laid upon me ; that I
“ am a Separatist, and the greatest in
“ England.”

My Lords very honourably afforded his Lordship patience to. speak to the other imputation laid upon him ; and so shall I very freely. But how far, and in what language, and upon what occasion, I imputed any thing to his Lordship, I have ingenuously declared already : and shall add no more, till my Lord hath proceeded farther, and expressed what he pleases ; as follows.

“ And first I shall say of this word Separatist, as that learned man Mr.
“ Hales of Eton saith in a little
“ Manuscript of his, which I have
“ seen : ‘ That where it may be rightly
“ fixed, and deservedly charged, it is
“ certainly a great offence. But in
“ common use now among us, it is no
“ other than a theological scare-crow ;

“ wherewith the potent and prevalent
“ party uses to fright and enforce
“ those who are not of their opinions,
“ to subscribe to their dictates, with-
“ out daring to question them, or
“ bring them to any rule of examina-
“ tion, either of Scripture or reason.’
“ And he observeth, that this was too
“ usual even in ancient times, as well
“ as now.”

And first, my Lord begins with the word Separatist: and he professes, he will say of that, as learned Mr. Hales saith. And surely the first part of Mr. Hales is very true; that where this word, or the crime signified by it, is rightly fixed, and deservedly charged, it is a great offence. But that which follows, by my Lord's good leave, and Mr. Hales's too, is somewhat too hard a censure upon the times, and the persons living in them. The truth is, some men are too apt to accuse others of schism and separation; but yet I do not think the disease is so epidemical, as it is here expressed.

As, namely, that it is in common use amongst us. Perhaps, nothing so common at this time to call Separatist, as to be one. Or that it is a theological scare-crow, by which the potent and prevalent party uses to affright and enforce those who are not of their opinions, to subscribe to their dictates. Or sure, if there be such practice, the fault is in the persons that use it. But even that is no excuse at all, for schism or separation; because some, in an inconsiderate heat, charge that crime upon such as are not guilty. For, perhaps my Lord may say as much as this, of excommunication itself, that some are struck with it, who deserve it not; and yet, I hope, my Lord hath not proceeded so far as to say, that excommunication is but a theological scare-crow.

And I farther think, there are as few at this day of them, whom my Lord calls the potent and prevalent party, which refuse to be brought to any rule of examination, either of Scripture or reason; as have lived in this Church for some hundreds of years past, how meanly soever this Lord esteems them, and how

narrow soever he thinks their comprehensions are.

To conclude this passage ; my Lord tells us, that Mr. Hales observes farther, that this was too usual, even in ancient times, as well as now. That some faults, and some degrees of this fault, were in ancient times, as well as now, may be true enough : and yet in those ancient times, none thought schism or separation from the Church, howsoever charged, to be but a theological scare-crow. But caused it to be examined to the bottom, as it is fit, nay, necessary, that it should ; for else, the most dangerous separation that can be, may go away free with this. That it is but a trick of the prevalent party, to fright other men into their opinions, by charging them with separation. Now the most dangerous separation in a Church is, where the Church itself hath little or no power to punish Separatists. And where they of the separation are, by the great misfortune of the State, become the potent and prevalent party. And whether this be not, or at least were not, the condition of the State and Church of

England, when my Lord printed this speech of his, I leave to the indifferent reader to judge.

My Lord hath printed no more than this; and therefore I will take notice of no more. But yet, I am told by a very good hand, that his Lordship, upon this quotation of Mr. Hales's Manuscript, was pleased openly in that honourable House of Parliament, where he spake it, to lend Mr. Hales one wipe, and me another. But since my Lord is pleased to pass it over at the press, I shall do so too. Yet with this, that if my Lord did give that gird, I will make it plainly appear, whenever he shall publish it, that there is no shew of truth in it. But now that my Lord hath done with Mr. Hales, he proceeds, and tells us his own judgment.

“ Secondly, I say that there is a two-fold
“ separation; one from the Universal
“ or Catholic Church; which can no
“ otherwise be made, but by denying
“ the faith; (for faith and love are
“ the requisites to that communion.)”

And I say so too, that there is a two-fold separation; and that one of them is from the Universal or Catholic Church. But that this separation can no otherwise be made, but by denying the faith, I doubt comes short of truth. First, because there is a great difference between schism and apostacy. And every apostacy is a separation; but every separation is not apostacy. For a man is not an apostate properly, till he fall away, by denying the whole faith. But a man may be in heresy, schism, and separation, upon the denial of any one Article of the Faith, received by the Catholic Church. Secondly, because should a man agree in all and every Article of the Faith with the Catholic Church, yet he may maintain some false opinion, and incongruous, both to the verity and the practice of religion, and judgment of the Universal Church: and be so in love with these, as that for these opinions' sake, he will separate from the whole body.

Therefore denial of the faith is not the only cause of separation from the Catholic Church; since this separation can be otherways made.

And my Lord, within the space of three lines, crosses himself. For first, he says, that this separation can no otherwise be made, but by denying the faith. And in the very next words he tells us, that faith and love are the requisites to that communion. Two requisites to that communion with the Universal Church; therefore two causes of separation from it. Therefore, by my Lord's own confession, he that is so out of charity with the Universal Church, for some opinions or practices which he dislikes, as that he will not communicate with it, is in separation, though he do not deny the faith.

“ The other (my Lord tells us) is, a
“ separation from this or that par-
“ ticular Church or congregation.
“ And that not in respect of differ-
“ ence with them in matter of faith
“ or love; but in dislike only of such
“ corruptions, in the external worship
“ and Liturgies, as they do admit
“ of, and would enjoin upon others.”

In this other particular separation, I shall meddle with neither congregation nor conventicle, meeting allowed or disallowed by Church or State; but that separation which is or is not made, by my Lord and his followers, from the National Church of England, as it stands settled and established by law. Nor as her Service may be mangled, or otherwise abused in any particular parish or congregation whatsoever. And if this Lord dislike any the Service as it is used in some one parish or other, and yet will come to the Service as it is established by law in other, either cathedral or parochial churches, my Lord hath had great wrong to be accounted a Separatist. By if my Lord will not come to the prayers of the Church of England by law established, let his pretence be what it will, a Separatist he is.

But my Lord says, that this particular separation is not in respect of difference with them in matter of faith or love.

Where first you may observe on the bye, that, in my Lord's judgment, public breach in charity, as well as in faith, may be cause of this

separation too, as well as of that from the Universal or Catholic Church, before mentioned.

Next, that this particular separation, if it be not in respect of difference in faith or love, in what respect is it then? Why, if we may herein believe my Lord, it is only in dislike of such corruptions in their external worship and Liturgies, as they do admit of, and would enjoin others. Well, first I will pray for my Lord, that there be no difference in faith and charity; but I do very much doubt there is. Next, either there are such corruptions in the external worship and Liturgies, as his Lordship hath just cause to dislike, or there are not. If there be not, why doth he separate from them? If there be, or probably seem to be, why doth he not complain to the King, and the Church; that these corruptions may be considered on, and amended, if cause appear?

And this he ought to do, before he separate. For I hope Christianity is not yet come to that pass, (though it draw on apace,) that a powerful layman or two shall say there are

corruptions in the set service of God, and then be judges of such corruptions themselves. Nor doth the Church of England admit of corruptions in her Liturgy, or labour to enjoin them upon others. Now my Lord tells us farther. That

“ This is a separation not from their
“ persons, as they are Christians;
“ but from their corruptions in matter
“ of worship, as they are therewith
“ defiled. And this separation, every
“ man, that will keep himself pure
“ from other men’s sins, and not
“ sin against his own conscience,
“ must make.”

This will not yet help my Lord: for say this be not a separation from their persons, as they are Christians; which yet it too often proves to be. And I believe, if this Lord would impartially examine himself, he would find to be true in himself, and his comportment. But that it is from their corruptions in matter of

worship, as they are therewith defiled. First, these corruptions are not proved; so it is *petitio principii*, the begging of that to be granted, which is the thing in question. Secondly, if there be corruptions; yet it is not proved they are in the matter; but of the two, rather in the manner of worship. Thirdly, were both these granted, yet it will remain a question still; whether these corruptions be such, as that the worshippers are defiled therewith? And another question, whether so deeply defiled, as that other good Christians shall be defiled, by coming to Common-Prayer with them? For I am not yet persuaded, nor shall be, till I be convinced, that every man that will keep himself pure from other men's sins, and not sin against his conscience, is bound to make this separation. For I conceive, many corruptions may be tolerated, nay, ought to be, before a separation be made. And that a private conscience is to be both informed, and reformed, before it be attempted.

Nor can I think, that he which comes to the public service of any Church that is not idol-

atrous, or peccant in the fundamentals of Religion, doth partake with other men's sins, that frequent the same Common-Prayer or Service with him, or he with them.

And yet my Lord is so peremptory, as that without any distinction or degrees of corruption, he delivers it positively, with a great deal more boldness than knowledge, That every man, that will keep himself pure from other men's sins, must make this separation. Every man, and must make. And it is not to be conceived, but that what every man must do, my Lord, who seems to be so careful to keep himself pure from other men's sins, hath done already. That is, hath made this separation from the Church. And my Lord, for ought I see, is ready to confess as much. For he adds,

“ And I will ingenuously confess, that
“ there are many things, in many
“ Churches or Congregations in
“ England, practised, and enjoined
“ upon all to be practised and suf-
“ fered ; which I cannot practise nor

“ admit of, except I should sin against
“ the light of my conscience, until I
“ may out of the word of God be
“ convinced of the lawfulness of them;
“ which hitherto I could never see
“ sufficient ground for.”

I told you my Lord was very near confessing as much as I have said. For he says ingenuously, there are many things in many churches in England practised.

First, I told my Lord before, that this business of separation was not to be judged by what is practised in one or more parochial congregations, but by what ought to be practised in all the churches of England. And if my Lord dislike any thing in one congregation, he may go to another, (so he will endure the whole Liturgy, as it is settled by law,) and no man, if he will do this, ought to account him a Separatist. And I find by my Lord's words, that his exception is to many churches; and I would willingly hope (if his carriage would let me) that he excepts not against all. Besides,

96 *Lord Say's evil will to the Church.*

he tells us, that many things are so practised ; but he is not pleased to tell us what they are. And then it is not possible for me or any man else, either to know whether his Lordship's exception be just against them, or to give him satisfaction in them. And it is no great sign, that my Lord bears any good mind to the Church, that he is so ready to charge many things against the Church, and to name none.

My Lord goes farther, and says plainly, that these many things thus practised, or enjoined also, and that upon all, to be practised or suffered, which he cannot practise nor admit of, except he should sin against the light of his conscience. You have heard already, how much my Lord is troubled with this enjoining, and to that I refer you : in the mean time, since I am the man so particularly shot at by my Lord, I shall answer for myself according to truth ; and with truth I can legally prove, if need be, I have not commanded or enjoined any one thing ceremonial or other, upon any parochial congregation in England, much less upon all, to be either practised or suffered, but

that which is directly commanded by law. And if any inferior ordinary in the kingdom, or any of my own officers, have given any such command, it is either without my knowledge, or against my direction. And it is well known, I have sharply chid some for this very particular ; and if my Lord would have acquainted me with any such troubled thought of his, I would have given him (so far as had been in my power) either satisfaction or remedy, if any thing had been against the light of his conscience. Though in these things I must needs tell my Lord, that there is now-a-days, in many men which have shaken off all Church obedience, great pretensions to light in their understandings and consciences ; when to men which see indeed, it is little less than palpable darkness. But how it is with my Lord and his conscience, I will not take upon me to judge ; but leave him to stand or fall to his own masterⁱ.

For it seems, my Lord stands not simply upon the light of his conscience ; but only until he may be convinced out of the word of God,

ⁱ Rom. xiv. 4.

of the lawfulness of these things, which hitherto he could never see sufficient ground for. And this is the common plea, which all of them have resort to, till they be convinced; which (as I have had experience of many) they are resolved not to be. And they will be convinced in every particular, out of the word of God, to the very taking up of a rush or straw, as their grave master^k taught them. As if God took care of straws, or their taking of them up. As if every particular thing of order or decency were expressly set down in the word of God. Surely, if this were so, St. Paul should have had nothing to set in order when he came to Corinth^l. And if this be so, the Church hath no power left in any thing, not so much as to command a bell shall toll to call the people to public prayers, because it is no where commanded in the word of God. So that upon this ground, if any man shall say, he hath light enough in his conscience to see the unlawfulness of such human devices, he may separate from the

^k T. C. L. S. p. 59, 60. apud Hook. l. ii. s. 1. p. 34.

^l 1 Cor. xi. 34.

Church, rather than sin against this light. So there shall be no public service of God; but some *ignis fatuus* or other, under the name of light in the conscience, shall except against it, and separate from it. Which is directly to set up the light in each private spirit, against that light which God hath placed in his Church, shine it never so clearly. Yet his Lordship is confident, and says,

“ But, my Lords, this is so far from
“ making me the greatest Separatist
“ in England, that it cannot argue
“ me to be any at all. For my Lords
“ the Bishops do know, that those
“ whom they usually apply this term
“ unto are the Brownists, (as they call
“ them by another name,) and they
“ know their tenets. The truth is,
“ they differ with us in no funda-
“ mental point of doctrine, or saving
“ truth, I know.”

Here then my Lord is pleased to say, that all

that he hath hitherto said, is so far from making him the greatest Separatist in England, that it cannot argue him to be any at all. For my part, I would to God it were so: but let us examine, whether it be so or not. First then, this I humbly conceive is certain; that he, whoever he be, that will not communicate in public prayers with a National Church, which serves God as she ought, is a Separatist. But the Church of England, as it stands established by law, serves God as she ought: therefore my Lord, by his general absenting himself from her communion in prayers, is a Separatist. And this is by his own confession: for he says, a little before, and that expressly, that this is a separation, which every man must make, that will keep himself pure from other men's sins. And I cannot doubt, but his Lordship hath made that, which he says he must make.

All that can be said for my Lord herein is this; first, that my Lord charges the Church of England with corruptions in the worship of God; and such corruptions, as he must separate from her. But is it sufficient for a separation

for a particular man, barely to say there are such corruptions in the Liturgy, when he doth neither prove them to be such, nor so much as name them what they are? Surely no. And I think these gnats (which his Lordship strains at) may be swallowed, without any offence to God or man. So far are they from being a just cause of separation: therefore, for all this, my Lord is a Separatist.

Yea, but my Lord charges upon the Church of England, that she enjoins her Liturgy upon all men, by a certain number of men usurping authority to themselves, and imposing this Injunction, under the name of the Church. I have made answer already to this power of the Church to compose a set Form for public service; and I hope made it manifest, that this authority is not usurped. And then that can be no just cause of a separation. Nay, I must doubt, whether, if such authority were usurped by some Churchmen in any National Church, the enjoining of the Service after it is made, supposing always that it contain no idolatry, or fundamental error, be for the Injunction alone a

sufficient warrant to my Lord, or any other, to separate? Therefore, my Lord's forsaking the public service of the Church, upon no better grounds than these, makes him a Separatist by his own confession, without any man calling him so.

As for his Lordship's being the greatest Separatist in England: I have at the beginning of this tract clearly related, to the uttermost of my memory, what and upon what occasion I spake of his Lordship in this kind. But whether I said it or not, my Lord, for ought I see, will hardly escape being so. For he is the greatest Separatist from the Church, that absents himself with most will and least cause: and this, if I mistake not, is my Lord's case; for he separates with most will, that says men must and ought to separate: and upon least cause, because as yet he hath named none at all; but corruptions in general; which any man may say; and the injunction of a set Form, which is no cause. Therefore (for ought I yet see) it may truly be said of his Lordship, that he is the greatest Separatist in England.

Especially if you add to this, how busy and active his Lordship is, and for many years hath been, to promote this cause of separation. And I have some very good grounds to think, that his Lordship hath been and is the great cause, and enlarger of all the separation that now is in Church affairs. And of all the disobedience thereby bred or cherished against Sovereign power.

Next, my Lord appeals to my Lords the Bishops; and tells them, that they know that they whom they usually apply this name (Separatist) unto, are the Brownists, as they call them by another name. I know not all things, which the rest of my learned brethren the Bishops know. Yet, I think, both they and I know this, that the name Separatist is a common name to all heretics or schismatics, that separate for their opinions' sakes, either from the Catholic, or from any particular Orthodox Church. And if my Lord himself, (who it seems is well acquainted with them,) or any of my Lords the Bishops do know, that this name is usually applied to the Brownists;

be it so. That I am sure is not material, unless it be for that which my Lord closes this passage withal.

Namely, that my Lords the Bishops know the tenets of the Brownists; and that the truth is, they differ from us in no fundamental point of doctrine or saving truth that his Lordship knows. I doubt not but my Lords the Bishops know the tenets of the Brownists, so far forth at least as they be tenets, and not varied from; and so far as they are their general tenets, to which all or most of them agree. And so far as they are plain and univocal tenets, and not such as shall equivocate with the very faith itself. But such tenets of the Brownists as these are, it may be, all my Lords the Bishops know not.

Now if the truth be, as my Lord says it is, for ought he knows, that the Brownists differ from us in no fundamental point of doctrine, or saving truth: then out of all doubt *majus peccatum habent*, their sin (and my Lord's too) is the greater, that they will so uncharitably, and with so great heat and settled violence, and

to the great scandal of religion, first separate themselves from, and now labour utterly to overthrow, that Church, which (by my Lord's own confession here) differs not from them in any fundamental point of doctrine or saving truth. For sure, if they differ not from us, we differ not from them. But this is only *argumentum ad hominem*, and is sufficient to convince this Lord, I think, in his own way.

But I doubt the truth is quite another thing; namely, that the Church of England is very orthodox, and that the Brownists or Separatists, call them as you will, do separate upon false and unchristian opinions. And that besides matters of opinion and breach of charity, they do differ from us in some fundamental points of doctrine and saving truth.

My Lord a little before tells us of corruptions in the Liturgy of the Church; but names none. And should I charge the Brownists with difference from the Church in fundamental points of doctrine, and yet name none, I should run into the same fault for which I there taxed my Lord: I shall therefore give some instances of

some of their opinions, and then leave the indifferent reader to judge, whether they do not differ from us in some fundamental points of doctrine and saving truth. And then, consequently, whether it be not an heretical as well as a schismatical separation, which they make from the Church of England.

1. And first, there was a Creed printed by John Turner, in this present year, and the Parliament sitting. This Turner is a notorious Separatist, or Brownist if you will. In this Creed of his, he leaves out the descent of Christ into hell. This is an Article of the Apostles' Creed. And it is an Article of the Church of England. And so I presume a fundamental point of doctrine. Yet herein, this Brownist and his fellows differ from us. And I have heard from some present, that at a Committee of Lords, appointed for matters of religion, a young Lord^m should say openly and boldly enough, that he did not believe the descent of Christ into hell. And that my

^m The Lord Brook.

Lord, the author of this speech, should second him.

2. In the same Creed, Turner professes, he believes that Christ instituted by his Apostles certain particular Churches here on earth, and no other. So the Catholic Church, the mother of all particular both men and Churches, and out of which there can be no salvation in the ordinary way, is quite thrust out of this Brownist's Creed. And this I hope is another fundamental point of doctrine and saving truth. But in this I must do my Lord right, and not charge him with this point. Because a little before, his Lordship tells of a two-fold separation, one whereof he says is from the Universal or Catholic Church. So the Catholic Church is not yet thrust out of my Lord's Creed. But then this appears, that the Separatists are not yet agreed upon all the Articles of their Creed. Nay, some of them call the Apostles' Creed a patched forgery. And Barrow justifies it ^a.

3. Thirdly, they differ from us in charging gross corruptions upon the Church of England.

^a Barrow's Reply to Gifford, p. 255.

And these are known to my Lord; for he acknowledges them; and so gross, that, should they be true, the Church of England must be faulty in fundamental and saving truth. As shall farther appear in my answer to my Lord's next passage°. Therefore if their charge be true, they must, by my Lord's own confession, differ from us in fundamental and saving truth. And if their charge be false, why do they separate from us? Besides, all Anabaptists and Brownists agree in this, that the Church of England is Antichristian. And if it be so, they must either differ in fundamentals from the Church of England: or be Antichristian themselves in joining with them: or grant, that Christ and Antichrist have one and the same foundation.

4. Fourthly, some of them yet living, though they dare not speak it out in all companies, do cunningly insinuate, That at death, soul and body are extinct together; but shall rise again at the resurrection, first or last. And that Christ shall come and live here upon the earth

again. That the Martyrs shall then rise and live with Him a thousand years. And that Christ once come upon the earth, shall not (for any thing they can learn out of Scripture) ever depart from the earth again.

5. Fifthly, one Brierly and his Independent congregation are of this belief. ^pThat the child of God, in the power of grace, doth perform every duty so well, that to ask pardon for failing, either in matter or manner, is a sin. That it is unlawful to pray for forgiveness of sins, after their conversion. With divers others, some as bad, some worse, to the number of fifty.

6. Sixthly, one Spisberrie yet living, and of that Independent fraternity, maintains, that God works all things in us; and that we are but organs, instruments, and mere empty trunks. Which is to make God the author of all the sins which men commit: and therefore, ^qBrierly says expressly, that if they do at any time fall, they can by the power of grace carry their sin to the Lord, and say, Here I had it, and here I

^p The Fifty Propositions taken from his own mouth.

^q Proposit. 19.

leave it. Will not the devil one day stop the mouth of this blasphemy?

7. Seventhly, Mr. Prynne himself (who hath been a great stickler in these troubles of the Church) says expressly, Let any true saint of God be taken away in the very act of any known sin, before it is possible for him to repent; I make no doubt or scruple of it, but he shall as surely be saved as if he had lived to have repented of it. And he instances in David, in case he had been taken away, before he had repented of his adultery and murder. So according to this divinity, the true saints of God may commit horrible and crying sins, die without repentance, and yet be sure of salvation; which teareth up the very foundations of religion; induceth all manner of profaneness into the world; and is expressly contrary to the whole current of the Scripture⁵.

⁵ Prynne in his *Perpetuity*, p. 432.

⁶ Ezek. xviii. 26. Prov. xxviii. 13. St. Luke xiii. 3. xxi. 24. Acts iii. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 9. Gal. v. 10. and many other places.

8. In the eighth place, almost all of them say, that God from all eternity reprobates by far the greater part of mankind to eternal fire, without any eye at all to their sin. Which opinion my very soul abominates. For it makes God, the God of all mercies, to be the most fierce and unreasonable tyrant in the world. For the question is not here, what God may do by an absolute act of power, would He so use it upon the creature which He made of nothing : but what He hath done, and what stands with His wisdom, justice, and goodness to do.

9. Ninthly, one Lionel Lockier, now or late of Cranbrooke in Kent, among other his errors, rails against teaching children the Lord's Prayer, or other forms of Catechising. And if they differ from the Church of England in the whole Catechism, I think the Lord must work a miracle, before he can make his speech good, that they differ from us in no fundamental point.

10. Lastly, to omit all those base opinions, in which the Brownists agree with the Anabaptists; this, in which they differ from them,

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will be sufficient to prove, that they differ from us in that which is fundamental; unless they will say, that to believe the Trinity is not fundamental. For some of them, and by name one Glover[†], deny the Deity of the Holy Ghost. Which stands condemned for a gross and fundamental heresy in the second General Council[‡], held against Macedonius. And for the Familists, (of which there is store this day in England,) they deny the resurrection of the flesh, turning it, as they do many other things, into a mystery or allegory. Perhaps, more particulars might be found, upon a narrow search. But if there be no more, these are enough to make it evident to the world, that these Separatists differ from us in some fundamental points of doctrine, or saving truth. And as these are in fault for their separation; so I doubt the Church is to blame, for not proceeding against such of them as are altogether incorrigible.

But whether my Lord thinks these to be

[†] Rog. in Symb. Art. 7. Prop. 5.

[‡] Concil. Const. 1. Hooker's Pref. to Eccl. Pol s. 3.

fundamental points ; or whether he know, that the Brownists do differ from us in them ; I shall not take on me to declare, till his Lordship open himself farther. In the mean time, his Lordship goes on to tell us, wherein these Brownists fail, though they do not differ in fundamental points to his knowledge.

“ Their failing is in this. They hold that
“ there is no true Church in Eng-
“ land, no true Ministry, no true
“ worship which depend the one upon
“ the other ; they say all is Anti-
“ christian. Here is their error ; they
“ distinguish not between the *benè*
“ *esse* or purity of a true Church ;
“ and the *esse* or true being of it,
“ though with many defects and gross
“ corruptions. But conclude, because
“ such things are wanting, which are
“ indeed necessary to the well-being
“ of a true Church, and to be
“ desired ; therefore there is none at
“ all in being.”

Here my Lord shews a great deal of sharp and good apprehension. And distinguishes very rightly between the entire being of a true Church, which is her *bene esse*; and the true being of a Church, which is her *esse* only. And my Lord doth farther fairly acknowledge, that this is the Brownists' error, To conclude no Church in being, because it hath many defects and gross corruptions in it to hinder its well-being.

So then, my Lord here grants two things.

First, that to hold there is no true Church in England, no true Ministry, no true worship, (which depend one upon another,) but that all is Antichristian, is an error.

And secondly, that it is the Brownists' error. How, and how far these three, no true Church, no true Ministry, no true worship, depend one upon another, and in what cases it may, in some exigents be otherways, I will not now dispute, nor divert from the main business.

1. First then, if it be an error to say, there is no true Church, no true Ministry, no true worship in England; then, I hope, it will be

found truth to say, there is a true Church, a true Ministry, and a true worship in England. And he that shall avow the contrary, must needs differ from the Church of England in fundamentals. For these contradictions; a true Church, and no true Church; a true Ministry, and no true Ministry; a true worship of God, and no true worship; cannot be built up but upon different foundations. And as for that which, my Lord affirms, is added by the Brownists, that there are many defects and gross corruptions in it; so long as this is said, and not proved; it is enough, without farther proof, to deny both the defects and corruptions, both the many and the gross. As I doubt not but the Church of England can make good against both my Lord, and all the Brownists in England.

2. Secondly, if to affirm this be the Brownists' error; then I would fain know of my Lord, how he can say the Brownists do not differ from or with us in any fundamental point of doctrine or saving truth? For if this be no fundamental point, or no saving truth; that we

be in and of a true Church ; that this Church hath a true Ministry, to be between God and us, in all the duties of their function ; whether upward to God in prayer and spiritual sacrifice, or downward to us in the Word and Sacraments ; that in this Church, and by this Ministry, there is a true worship, and that without gross corruptions : what can be accounted, next the Creed itself, fundamental or saving ? So that in one line, my Lord is pleased to say, the Brownists do not differ with us in any fundamental point of doctrine or saving truth ; and in the very next line, his Lordship confesses, they differ from us in these three things, which if not several, yet altogether, as they depend one upon another, are saving and fundamental.

Nor can this cautelous close help my Lord one jot, that he adds ; The Brownists do not differ from us in any fundamental point of doctrine or saving truth, as his Lordship knows. For were his Lordship of a shallow or narrow comprehension, it were another matter : but since he is so full of understanding in these things, it is impossible but he must know these

three together are fundamental ; and being so, he must needs know also, that the Brownists differ with us in fundamentals ; which is that which he denied. If therefore my Lord will say, he knows not this to be the Brownists' error, why doth he take upon him to say it is ? If he will grant that he knows it, he must needs know withal, (if he will not shut out the light of his conscience, of which a little before he is so tender,) that the Brownists, or Separatists, call them what you will, differ from us in some fundamental points of doctrine or saving truth.

Thus far then my Lord relates the failing of the Brownist. I hope he will be so careful as not to fail with them himself. Yes sure ; for he adds ;

“ I hold no such opinion ; but do believe
“ to the contrary : that there are in
“ England many true Churches, and
“ a true Ministry which I do hear,
“ and with which Churches I could
“ join in communion, were those

“ yokes of bondage, which are laid
“ upon them, taken off, and those
“ corruptions removed, which they do
“ (contrary, as I think, to their duty)
“ yield unto, and admit of: and this
“ I am sure, no Separatist in Eng-
“ land holds, that deserves that name.
“ And therefore I hope your Lord-
“ ships will in that respect let me
“ stand right in your opinions.”

Here my Lord tells us, he holds no such opinion, but does believe to the contrary. But I doubt, he so believes to the contrary, as that he is of the same opinion. For he believes, that there are in England many true Churches, and a true Ministry. And so do all the Brownists: for no doubt but they believe, that all their congregations or conventicles are true Churches in England; and that the Ministers which they hear are true Ministers. And this is plainly my Lord's belief. For he saith, he believes there is a true Ministry in England, which he doth hear. But what Ministers

they are, which he doth hear, he does not say.

Or if this be not my Lord's meaning; but that there are some true Churches, and some true Ministers in England, though ordained as in England they are; yet my Lord continues a Separatist still. For his Lordship doth not say, either that he doth, or that he will, or that he can, join in communion with any of these Churches, or this Ministry, which he says, are true. But only that he could join with them, if; if what? why, if these yokes of bondage were taken off, which are laid upon them, and those corruptions removed. By the yokes of bondage, he means the injunction of a set Form of prayers, which he hath so often mentioned in this speech.

But what corruptions he means, I know not, till his Lordship shall be pleased to tell us. Only this I conceive I may add; that all things are not corruptions in the Church, which my Lord calls so. That if these corruptions be fundamental, they may be such too, as may keep these Churches which he speaks of from

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being true Churches, and the Ministry from being a true Ministry. But if these corruptions be of a very light allay, (as I verily believe they are, if there be any,) then his Lordship ought not to separate, but to join in communion with them, for all these, either yokes, or corruptions. The Apostle indeed tells us of a Church without wrinkle^x. But that is a triumphant Church in heaven; not a militant upon earth. And for the yokes, which my Lord speaks of, they are not yokes of bondage, as he pleases to call them; but yokes of obedience, which, whenever they shall be broken, the wild asses of the wilderness^y will overrun all.

My Lord goes farther, and says; that in these true Churches, this true Ministry does yield unto, and admit of, these yokes, and these corruptions, contrary, as he thinks, to their duty. But it seems, they think not so; or if they do think so, why do they not remonstrate their grievance? Sure, if their conscience tell them they do against their duty, they ought

^x Eph. v. 27.

^y Jer. ii. 24.

to inform their conscience, or forbear the work. To inform their conscience, I am sure is fit for them, if they need it. Though it seems, my Lord would rather have them forbear the duty, the doing whereof he calls their yielding unto; and their admitting these things, which he calls yokes and corruptions.

As for that which follows, and which my Lord says he is sure of, that no Separatist in England that deserves that name, holds that which his Lordship says here he doth believe. In that also, I conceive his Lordship is utterly mistaken. For, I believe, there is no Separatist in England, Brownist, or other deserving that name; but he holds, and will say as much as my Lord believes, namely, that there are in England many true Churches, that is, assemblies, or congregations of their own brotherhood. And a true Ministry: to wit, those which themselves have made. And that they do hear them; that is, such as these. Yea, and that they could join in communion with some other Churches, were those yokes of bondage, which are laid upon them, taken off, and those corrup-

tions removed. That is, upon the matter, if they would become as themselves are, then they would join with them. And this out of all doubt they think they ought to do, and neither yield unto such yokes, nor admit of such corruptions. So that my Lord may see every Separatist in England, even they, which most deserve that name, hold that which his Lordship believes. And therefore no question can be made, but that my Lord deserves that name, as much as any of them, even while he says, he is sure no Separatist in England that deserves that name holds as he doth.

But to come to the quick. The Brownists and Separatists deal plainly with God and the world, and say expressly, that the whole Church of England, as it stands established by law, is peccant, both in the Doctrine, Liturgy, and Discipline of it; and in such a degree, as that they neither will, nor can join in communion with it: and therefore separate from it, and betake themselves to their own private opinions and congregations. But my Lord he equivocates both with God and man; and tells us,

he believes there are true Churches in England, and a true Ministry which he hears. And this no Separatist that understands himself, but will say as fast as he. But let his Lordship come home to the business directly and plainly: let him say, that the Church of England is a true Church; that the Ministry of it is a true Ministry; that the Doctrine, Liturgy, and Discipline of it, as it stands established now by law, are free from any such corruptions as give just cause for a separation.

And when he hath said this, let him join in communion with it as he ought to do; and then he shall wrong my Lord very deeply, that says he is a Separatist.

But for all this which he hath yet said for himself, it is manifest, that a Separatist he is. And I doubt, hath hereby proved himself, whether I will or no, the greatest Separatist in England. And therefore he hath little cause to hope (as he says he doth) that he shall stand right in their Lordships' opinions, or any other man's, that is not possessed with the same humour. Yet, my Lord hath two requests to make.

“ I will now end with two requests : the
“ one, that your Lordships will please
“ to pardon me, for troubling you
“ with so long a discourse concerning
“ myself. I have not used it hereto-
“ fore ; and I am not like to offend
“ again in the same kind. It is but
“ once, and your Lordships will con-
“ sider the occasion.”

In this suit, were there need, I would join with my Lord. For though I have a great deal of hard measure put upon me in this speech ; yet I have the more reason to be content with it, because this whole discourse of my Lord's, well weighed, is more against himself than me. And such trouble of his Lordship's, I hope all men well affected to the present Church of England will easily pardon. And this I doubt not, but their Lordships, and all men else, will the rather do, when they consider the occasion. Which certainly I gave not personally in the House : but a guilty conscience (it seems) would needs be meant.

“ The second (request) is to entreat of
“ you, that where you know there is
“ one and the same God worshipped,
“ one and the same Faith embraced,
“ one and the same Spirit working
“ love, and causing an unblameable
“ conversation, without any offence to
“ the State, in your brethren, who in
“ all these concur with you; you will
“ not suffer them (for ceremonies
“ and things indifferent to you, but
“ not to them but burthens, which
“ without offence to the State, or
“ prejudice to the Churches, you may
“ take off if you will) to be thrust out
“ of the land, and cut off from their
“ native country. For if you thus
“ shall wound the consciences of your
“ brethren, you will certainly offend
“ and sin against Christ.”

In this second request, I can easily agree with my Lord in some things; but must differ in other. And first, I agree with all my heart,

that I would have no pressure at all, much less cutting off from their native country, put upon them, who are known to worship the same God, to embrace one and the same faith, and one and the same Spirit working love. But in this I must disagree, that the Separatists (for they are the men of whom this Lord speaks thus, and says they are your brethren, and concur with you in all these) are not known to be such. For though he be one and the same God whom they worship, yet the worship is not one and the same. For my Lord says plainly, that our set Forms are superstition: and that he cannot join in communion with us, till our yokes of bondage, and our other gross corruptions, be removed. And I must doubt they embrace not the same faith, till they admit the whole Creed, and will use the Lord's Prayer, which few of them will. As for the Spirit that works by love, I much fear He is a great stranger to many of these men. For I have many ways found their malice to be fierce, and yet endless. And therefore I wonder my Lord should have the boldness to tell my Lords in Parliament, that

they know all these things of these men, and that they are their brethren, and concur with them in all these forenamed things; whom in the mean time, their Lordships do, and cannot but know, different from them; nay separating from them, in the very worship of God.

Next I agree with my Lord again, that I would have no pressure put upon those men, in whom the spirit of love causes an unblameable conversation, without any offence to the State. But in this I must disagree, that the Separatists from the Church of England are such manner of men. For the private conversation of very many of them (whom I could name, were it fit) is far from being unblameable^z.

* * * *

And the public conversation of all, or most of them, is full of offence to the State: unless my Lord thinks the State is or ought to be of their humour. For how can their conversation be without great offence, very great, to this or any State Christian; who shall have and main-

^z Here is a void space left, but never filled up.

tain private conventicles and meetings, in a different way of religion, from that which is established by the State ? Nay, which shall not only differ from, but openly and slanderously oppose, that which is so established ? Besides, no well-governed State will allow of private meetings, especially under pretence of religion, (which carry far,) without their privity and allowance. For if this be permitted, there lies a way open to all conspiracies against the State whatsoever, and they shall all be satisfied under the pretence of religion.

The third thing in which I agree with my Lord is, that I would not, that for ceremonies and things indifferent, these men should be thrust out of the land, and cut off from their native country. No, God forbid ; if any thing will reclaim them. But then I must disagree with my Lord in this, that these men (whether such as my Lord describes them or no) are thrust out of the land, or cut off from their native country, for ceremonies or things indifferent. For first, they are not all ceremonies, for which they separate from the Church. For

they pretend certain gross corruptions in the very worship of God, (as my Lord a little before delivers.) Secondly, be the cause what it will, none of them have been banished, or thrust out of the land, or cut from their native country, (as is here spoken to move hatred against the government.) But it is true, they have thrust themselves out, and cut themselves off, and run a madding to New England, scared away (as they say) by certain gross corruptions, not to be endured in this Church. Nor after they have gone a madding enough, is their return denied to any: and I know some that went out like fools, and are come back so like —— that you cannot know the one from the other.

In this passage it is said by my Lord, that these ceremonies and things indifferent unto you, (speaking to the Lords in Parliament,) are not so to them, but burthens. In this passage I can agree with my Lord in nothing. For first, my Lord but a very little before, tells of yokes of bondage and gross corruptions. And are they so soon become but ceremonies and things indifferent? If they be more than

130 *Church authority counted a burden.*

ceremonies and things indifferent, then my Lord delivers not the whole truth. And if they be but ceremonies and things indifferent, then his Lordship and all other Separatists ought rather to yield to the Church in such things, than for such things to separate from it. And certainly so they would, if the Spirit that worketh by love, did work in them. Yea, but my Lord says, they are such things, as though they be indifferent to others, yet to them they are not, but burthens. And it may be, they make them so; for in their own nature they are nothing less: and of great use they are to preserve the substance and the body of religion. But this I find; let any thing in the world be enjoined by the Church authority, and it is a burthen presently. And so you see all along this speech, how earnest my Lord is, in behalf of himself and these Separatists, against all injunctions of set Forms, and yokes of bondage. This is an excellent way of religion, to settle temporal obedience.

And I can as little agree with that which follows. Namely, that the Lords may, without

any offence to the State, or prejudice to the Churches, take away, if they will, these things indifferent to them, but burthens to these brethren. For first, suppose them to be but ceremonies and things indifferent; yet can they not be taken away without offence to the State, or prejudice to the Churches; who, to please a few unruly Separatists, must make an alteration in that part of religion, which hath continued with great happiness to this Church ever since the Reformation. Secondly, I will not dispute it here, what power a lay assembly (and such a Parliament is) hath to determine matters of religion, primely and originally by and of themselves, before the Church hath first agreed upon them. Then indeed they may confirm or refuse. And this course was held in the Reformation. But originally to take this power over religion into lay hands, is that which hath not been thus assumed since Christ to these unhappy days. And I pray God this chair of religion do not prove *cathedra pestilentiae*, as the vulgar reads it², to the infecting of this

² Ps. i. 1.

whole nation with schism and heresy, and in the end bring all to confusion.

I meddle not here with the King's power. For he may be present in Convocation when he pleases, and take or leave any Canons, as he pleases, which are for the peace and well-ordering of the Church; as well as in Parliament, take or leave any laws made ready for him, for the good and quiet of his people. But if it come to be matter of faith, though in his absolute power he may do what he will, and answer God for it after: yet he cannot commit the ordering of that to any lay Assembly, Parliament or other; for them to determine that, which God hath intrusted into the hands of his Priests. Though if he will do this, the Clergy must do their duty, to inform him, and help that dangerous error if they can. But if they cannot, they must suffer an unjust violence, how far soever it proceed; but they may not break the duty of their allegiance.

It is true, Constantius the Emperor, a great patron of the Arians, was by them interested in

their cause, and meddled in *decernendo*^a, in determining, and that beforehand, what the Prelates should do; and sometimes in commanding the orthodox Prelates to communicate with the Arians. This they refused to do, as being against the Canons of the Council of Nice.

And then his answer was; ^bYea, but that which I will, shall go for Canon. But then we must know withal, that ^cAthanasius reckoned him for this as that Antichrist, which Daniel prophesied of.

Hosius also^d, the famous confessor of those times, condemned in him that kind of meddling

^a Athan. in Epist. ad Solit. Vitam agentes. Edit. Gr. Lat. p. 862.

^b Ἄλλ' ὅπερ ἐγὼ βούλομαι, τοῦτο κανὼν ἔλεγε νομιζέσθω. Epist. ad Solit. Vitam agentes.

^c Τίς γὰρ βλέπων αὐτὸν ἐξέρχοντα τῶν νομιζομένων ἰπισκόπων. καὶ προκαθήμενον τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κρίσεων, οὐκ ἀκολουθῶς εἴποι τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ διὰ τοῦ Δανιὴλ εἰρημένον βδέλνγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως; cap. 9. 27. Athanas. in Epist. ad Solit. Vitam agentes. Edit. Gr. Lat. p. 862.

^d In Epistola ad Constantium quæ extat apud Athan. Ibid. p. 829.

in and with religion. And so doth St. Hilary^e of Poitiers. Valentinian also the younger took upon him to judge of religion, at the like persuasion of Auxentius the Arian; but he likewise was sharply reproved for it by St. Ambrose^f. In like manner, Maximus the tyrant took upon him to judge in matters of religion, as in the case of Priscillian and his associates. But this also was checked by St. Martin^g Bishop of Tours: where it is again to be observed, that though these emperors were too busy in venturing upon the determination of points of faith; yet no one of them went so far, as to take power from the Synods, and give it to the

^e St. Hilary cont. Constantium. Edit. Basil. p. 272. et passim alibi.

^f Quando audiisti clementissima imperator in causâ fidei laicos de Episcopo judicasse? quis est qui abnuat in causâ fidei, in causâ inquam fidei, Episcopos solere de imperatoribus Christianis, non imperatores de Episcopis judicare? Pater tuus baptizatus in Christo, inhabilem se ponderi tanti putabat esse judicii, &c. *St. Amb.* l. v. Epist. 32.

^g Novum et inauditum nefas esse dicens, ut causam Ecclesiæ Judex Sæculi judicaret. *Sulp. Sever.* l. ii. Hist. Sacræ.

Senate. And the orthodox and understanding Emperors did neither the one nor the other. For ^hValentinian the elder left this great Church-work to be done by Church-men. And though the power to call Councils was in the Emperor: and though the Emperors were sometimes personally present in the Councils, and sometimes by their deputies, both to see order kept, and to inform themselves; yet the decisive voices were in the Clergy only. And this will plainly appear in the instructions given by the Emperor Theodosius to Condidianus, whom he sent to supply his place in the Council of Ephesus; which were, ⁱthat he should not meddle with matters of faith, if any came to be debated. And gives this reason for it: because

^h Pater tuus, Deo favente, vir maturioris ævi, dicebat, non est meum judicare inter Episcopos. *St. Amb.* l. v. Epist. 32.

ⁱ Ut cum quæstionibus et controversiis quæ circa fidei dogmata incidunt, nihil quicquam commune habeat. Nefas est enim, qui Sanctissimorum Episcoporum Catalogo ascriptus non est, illum Ecclesiasticis negotiis et consultationibus sese immiscere. *Bin.* tom. i. Conc. par. 2. p. 166. Ed. Colon.

it is unlawful for any but Bishops, to mingle himself with them in those consultations. And Basilius the Emperor, long after this, in the eighth General Council held at Constantinople, anno 870^k, affirms it of the Laity in general; ^lthat it is no way lawful for them to meddle with these things. But that it is proper for the Patriarchs, Bishops, and Priests, which have the office of government in the Church, to enquire into these things. And more of this argument might easily be added, were that needful, or I among my books, and my thoughts at liberty. And yet this crosses not the supremacy, which the King of England hath in causes ecclesiastical; as it is acknowledged, both by the Church and Law. For that reaches not to the giving of him power to determine points of faith, either in Parliament

^k l. 869.

^l Quod nullo modo iis liceat de Ecclesiasticis causis sermonem movere. Hoc enim quærere et investigare, Patriarcharum, Pontificum, et Sacerdotum est, qui regiminis officium sortiti sunt. Nos autem oportet cum timore et fide sincerâ hos adire, &c. *Bin. tom. iii. Concil. par. 2. 682.*

or out; or to the acknowledgment of any such power residing in him; or to give him power to make Liturgies, and public Forms of prayer; or to preach or administer Sacraments; or to do any thing which is merely spiritual. But in all things which are of a mixed cognizance; such as are all those, which are properly called ecclesiastical, and belong to the Bishops' external jurisdiction; the supremacy there, and in all things of like nature, is the King's. And if at any time the Emperor or his deputy sit judge in a point of faith, it is not because he hath any right to judge it, or that the Church hath not right; but merely in case of contumacy, where the heretic is wilful, and will not submit to the Church's power.

And this the heretics sometimes did; and then the Bishops were forced to appeal thither also; but not for any resolution in the point of faith, but for aid and assistance to the just power of the Church^m.

I cannot but remember a very prudent speech uttered in the beginning of the late preceding

^m Hist. Trip. l. v. 35. in the case of heretics.

138 *Ancient ceremonies props of religion.*

Parliament, and by that Lord who now made this. The occasion was. A Lord offered to deliver a message from the King before he was formally brought into the House, and his patent shewed. This Lord, who thinks Church-ceremonies may so easily be altered, stood up and said, “ He would not be against the delivery of the message ; he knew not how urgent it might be ; but desired withal, that it might be entered, that this was yielded unto by special leave of the House. For that (saith he) though this be but a ceremony, yet the honour and safety of the privileges of this great House is preserved by nothing more, than by keeping the ancient rights and ceremonies thereof entire.” And this I think was very wisely spoken, and with great judgment. And could my Lord see this in the Parliament, and can he not see it in the Church ? Are ancient ceremonies, the chief props of Parliamentary rights ; and have they no use in Religion, to keep up her dignity ; yea, perhaps, and truth too ? The House of Parliament is, I confess, a great and honourable House. But the whole Church of Christ is

greater. And it will not well beseem a Parliament to maintain their own ceremonies, and to kick down the ceremonies of the national Church, which, under God, made all their members Christians. Most sure I am, they cannot do it, without offence both to State and Church, and making both a scorn to neighbouring nations.

Now in the close of all, my Lord tells his fellow Peers, and all others in them, That if they shall thus wound the consciences of their brethren (the Separatists), they will certainly offend and sin against Christ. Soft and fair. But what shall these Lords do, if to humour the consciences of those brethren, (some weak, and many wilful, and the cunning misleading the simple,) they shall disgrace and weaken, and, perhaps, overthrow, the religion they profess? Shall they not then both wound their own consciences, and most certainly sin against Christ? Yes, out of all doubt, they shall do both. Now, where it comes to the wounding of consciences, no question can be made, but that every man ought first to look to his own;

to his brethren's after. A man must not do that which shall justly wound his brother's conscience, though he be his brother in a separation, and stand never so much aloof from him. But he must not wound his own, to preserve his brother from a wound; especially such a one as happily may cure him, and by a timely pinch make him sensible of the ill condition in which he is.

As for these men, God of His mercy give them that light of His truth, which they want; and forgive them the boasting of that light, which they presume they have. And give them true repentance, and in that sense, a wounded conscience, for their breaking the peace of this Church.

And forgive them all their sins, by which they still go on with more and more violence to distract this Church.

And God of His infinite goodness preserve this Church at all times, and especially at this time, while the waves of this sea of separation rage so horribly. And as for this Lord, God

forgive him, and I do, and I hope this Church will. *Amen.*

In Turri Lond.

Dec. 3, 1641.

S. S. TRINITATI FIT LAUS ET GLORIA IN
ÆTERNUM.





ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S
ANSWER
TO
THE LORD SAY'S SPEECH
AGAINST
THE BISHOPS.



LAUD

ON

EPISCOPACY.

THIS speech is said to have done the Bishops, their calling, and their present cause, a great deal of harm among the gentry, and divers sober-minded men: and therefore I did much wonder that so many learned Bishops, present in the House to hear it, should not, (some of them,) being free and among their books, so soon as it was printed, give it answer, and stop the venom which it spits from poisoning, so many at least, as it is said to have done; especially that Bishop who stands named in the

margin, and against whom in particular the speech was in part directed, should (as I conceive) to vindicate himself, as well as the cause, have taken this task upon him. But since I see all men silent, and the speech go away in triumph, as if it were unanswerable truth, though the Bill be now past, and the Bishops with their votes cast out of the House, and from all civil employment; yet I thought it fit, if not necessary, to call this speech to an account in every passage, and with all due respect approve what is just, and give the rest such an answer as it deserves. And though you may think this answer comes too late, as indeed it doth to remedy the present evil, yet I have thought fit to go on with these my endeavours, that if these miserable distracted times have an end, (which I have no hope to live to see,) the errors of this speech may appear, and the Bishops perhaps recover their ancient rights. If not, (as I confess it is very hard in England,) that yet the world may see how unjustly they suffered, and with what misguided zeal this Lord hath fallen upon the Church, as indeed

he hath done in all kinds. And I pray God something fall not therefore upon him and his. The speech then begins thus :

“ My Lords,

“ I shall not need to begin as high as

“ Adam in answer to what hath been

“ drawn down from thence by a

“ Bishop^a concerning this question,

“ for that which is pertinent to it

“ will only be what concerns Bishops,

“ as they are ministers of the Gospel :

“ what was before, being of another

“ nature, can give no rule to this.”

Whether this Reverend Bishop, now Lord Archbishop of York, did begin his speech as high as Adam, I cannot tell, nor what proof he made after such beginning; for I was committed long before this speech was made: but if he did bring it down from Adam, I think there may be good reason for it. For it will appear, for the two thousand years before the Law, and

^a The Bishop of Lincoln.

for two thousand years more under the Law of Moses, that the Priests, especially the High and Chief Priests, did meddle in all the great temporal affairs, which fell out in their times.

And first for the time before the Law, it is manifest, and received by all men, that the *Primogenitus*^b, the first-born, was Priest, and the first-born in the prime and leading families, were as the Chief Priests in their several generations: and it is more than absurd to think, that all these prime men in their several families first, and tribes after, being Priests, should be estranged from all their civil and temporal

^b Sacerdotium erat ante Legem, apud colentes Deum, secundum humanam determinationem, qui hanc dignitatem Primogenitis attribuebant. Tho. 1. 2. q. 103. a 1 ad 3.

Ante tempus veteris Legis non erant determinati Ministri divini Cultûs, sed dicitur, quod Primogeniti erant Sacerdotes, qui duplicem portionem accipiebant. Tho. 2. 2. q. 87. a 1. ad 3.

And it is irrefragably manifest by the Lord's commands to Moses, that he should take the Levites instead of the First-born. Numb. iii. 45. Why instead of the First-born, if the First-born did not perform the public service of the Lord before that time?

affairs, and leave them in the hands of younger and weaker men. And as before the Law there is no express text for this their forbearance to help to manage civil affairs, so neither can there any sufficient reason be given why they should abstain. Neither did they. For instance, Abraham was a Priest, and a great one, for he was a Patriarch^c. And his Priesthood appears in that he was the first Minister of the sacrament of Circumcision^d; and yet he managed his family, and trained up his servants in that which is most opposite to the Priestly function, even for war. Nay took them, and went in person against five Kings, and redeemed his kinsman Lot by the sword^e. And Melchise-deck, who is expressly called the Priest of the high God, was King of Salem also^f: a King and a Priest too, so both capable by one person. And as he received tithes as a Priest, so no doubt can be made but he ordered and governed civil affairs as a King. Before these Noah was a Priest, and offered sacrifice^g, and yet all the

^c Heb. vii. 4. ^d Gèn. xvii. 23. ^e Gen. xiv. 14, 16. ^f Gen. xiv. 18. Heb. vii. 1. ^g Gen. viii. 20.

great care and trouble of building the Ark, and managing the preservation of the whole world, was committed to him by God Himself, and undertook by him^h.

Under the Law the case comes under fuller and clearer proof. And in the first entrance, Moses himself was *Sacerdos Sacerdotum*, the man that consecrated Aaronⁱ, and after reckoned with Aaron among the Priests of God^k, and yet the whole princely jurisdiction resided in him all his days. But God commanded him to settle the Priesthood upon Aaron, to teach the world that few men's abilities were fit for the heighth of both those places, since Moses himself was ordered to ordain Aaron, and divide the burthen. After this division the High Priest did meddle in civil affairs, even the greatest, as well as Moses, continued his care of the Synagogue. In the numbering of the people for war, a thing of sole imperial cognizance, if any, Aaron was joined in commission with Moses by God Himself, to number them

^h Gen. vi.

ⁱ Exod. xl. 13. Levit. viii. 1.

^k Ps. xcix. 6.

by their armies; and they did it^m. In the ordering of the standards and ensigns of the children of Israel in their removes from place to place, God's own command came alike to Moses and Aaronⁿ; the silver trumpets to call the assemblies of the people together did belong to Moses, the people had nothing to do with them; nor might they tumultuously assemble, but orderly, as the sound of the trumpets directed them; but the Priests, the sons of Aaron, were to sound them^o. And this duty lay upon them as well when they went to war, as when they sacrificed. In the survey of the land of promise Aaron was interested as well as Moses: and this appears plainly, first, in that when the spies (all save Joshua and Caleb) had brought up an evil report upon the land, the people fall into a murmuring, and were as mad against Aaron as against Moses^p. Secondly, because when the land of promise came to be divided among the Tribes, no spiritual business was it, and yet in the commission which Moses

^m Numb. i. 3. 17. 44.ⁿ Numb. ii. 1. 2.^o Numb. x. 8. 9. 11.^p Numb. xiv. 2. 5.

gave for the solemn division of the land, both to Reuben, Gad, and the half Tribe of Manasses on the one side of Jordan, and on the other side to the other Tribes, and to all the Princes of the several Tribes of Israel, Eleazar the Priest was first and principal^q, even before Joshua himself: and that not only here during Moses's life, but even after, at the actual division of the land to every Tribe, though Joshua was then the leader of the people^r. In the great murmuring of the people at Kadesh, for want of water, which was like enough to break out into an insurrection, the commission which God Himself gave out to gather the assembly together, and to satisfy the people with water out of the rock, (a harder thing for Moses to do when he looks upon the people, than for God when he looks upon the rock,) went jointly to Moses and Aaron^s, and they performed it accordingly.

Thus far it went, and in all these great particulars in Aaron's lifetime; as if God would give a pattern in the first High Priest

^q Numb. xxxii. 2. 28. and xxxiv. 17. ^r Josh. xix. 51.

^s Numb. xx.

under the Law, what his successors in some cases might, and in some must, do in great and civil affairs. And not so only, but to instruct the successors of Moses also what value they should put upon Aaron and his successors, if they will follow the way which God Himself prescribed, and which hath been taken up and followed in all well-governed kingdoms, as well Christian as Heathen, till this very time that this ignorant boisterous faction hath laboured to bear sway, as a learned countryman ^t of ours hath observed. And therefore though God set the pattern in Aaron, yet he continued it farther, to shew (as I conceive) that his will was it should continue. For no sooner was Aaron dead, but his son Eleazar succeeded in all those great civil employments, as well as in the Priesthood. For when the people of Israel were come into the plain of Moab near Jericho, and were ready to

^t “ They would have Clergymen not admitted, or very sparingly, to matters of State, contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.” Geo. Cranmer, Epist. to Mr. Hooker, p. 13.

enter into the land of promise, God Himself joined Eleazar with Moses for the numbering of all the people that were found fit for war, which they were to expect at their entrance into Canaan^u. In the difficult point of inheritance for the daughters of Zelophehad, when they came and demanded right of Moses, their demand was made to him and Eleazar, and the Princes of the congregation^x, which they would not have done had not Eleazar had a vote in that judicature with Moses and the Princes. And no less than God Himself commanded Moses to declare Joshua to be his successor in the presence of the congregation^y. And orders farther that Joshua shall stand before Eleazar the Priest, and that Eleazar shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim before the Lord^z. Now I would fain know of this Lord, whether Eleazar might give Joshua the counsel which he asked of God for him? If he might not, why did God appoint him to ask it for Joshua? If he might, then he might give

^u Numb. xxvi. 1. 3.^x Numb. xxvii. 2.^y Josh. xvii. 4.^z Numb. xxvii. 18. 19. 23.

counsel in temporal affairs, for so runs the text about the war to be had with the Canaanites. At Eleazar's word they should go out, and at his word they should come in, both Joshua and all the children of Israel

Phineas the son of Eleazar, but Priest too, though not High Priest till after his father's death, was employed by Moses in the war against the Midianites^a, and the trumpets put into his hands. After the victory over them, the captains and the spoil were brought to Moses, Eleazar, and the chief fathers of the congregation to divide them^b, and an express law ordained, that if there be a matter too hard for them in judgment, (I pray mark it, it is between blood and blood, between plea and plea, between stroke and stroke; these are no ecclesiastical matters, I trow,) that they should go unto the Priests, the Levites, and to the Judges that shall be in those days^c, and he that will not hearken unto the Priest and Judge shall die^d. Was the Priest here excluded from

^a Numb. xxxi. 6. ^b Ver. 12. 26. ^c Dent. xvii. 8, 9. ^d Ver. 12.

all temporal affairs? Nay, was he excluded from any, when his judgment was required between blood and blood? Nay, the Geneva note adds here, * that the Judge was to give sentence as the Priests counsel him by the law of God; which gives the Priest a greater power than the Judge, since he was to follow the Priest's direction; and Dr. Raynolds^f tells us very learnedly, that this law was made to establish the highest court of judgment among that people, in which all harder causes, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, should be determined without farther appeal. When the people made war and came nigh unto the battle, the Priest was to approach and speak unto them; and when he had done, the officers were to speak to them likewise; which must needs imply, that the Priests which were present were not strangers to some at least of the counsels of the war^g; and the whole Law, the judicial as well as the rest, was delivered by Moses, after he had written it,

* Annot. in Deut. xvii. 9.

^f Confer. with Hart, c. 6. Divis. 2. p. 203.

^g Deut. xx. 2. 5.

unto the Priests the sons of Levi, and unto all the Elders of Israel^h; so was the Priest trusted with the custody and in the discussing of the Law, and (as is before mentioned,) Eleazar had his hand in distributing the land of Canaan to the several Tribes, as well as Joshua, and the other Elders of Israelⁱ.

Nay though this were not ordinary and usual; yet Eli was so far trusted with and employed in temporal affairs, as that being High Priest, he was also Judge over Israel forty years^k; and after him Samuel, a Levite, judged Israel, and no man better. Yea, and after the captivity of Babylon also, for well near five hundred years, the Priesthood had the greatest stroke in the government, as under the Maccabees, and they did all that belonged unto them very worthily, and it pleased God to make that family very victorious. After Samuel, when that people had Kings to govern them, in that great and most unnatural conspiracy of Absalom against his father David, in that great

^h Deut. xxxi. 9.
iv. 18.

ⁱ Josh. xiv. 1.

^k 1 Sam.

distress, Hushai was ordered by David to return and mix himself with the counsels of Absalom, and to impart all things to Zadoc and Abiathar the Priests, that by them and their sons, David might come to know what was useful or necessary for him to do¹; and Hushai's making no scruple nor reply to this, makes it clear that Zadoc and Abiathar were formerly trusted with David's counsels, and that Hushai had observed them to be prudent and secret. And when David was old, he called a kind of Parliament for the settling his son Solomon in the kingdom. To that great assembly he gathered together all the Princes of Israel, with the Priests and the Levites^m; so far was he from turning their votes out of the house of that great consultation, that six thousand of them were by the wisdom of that senate made Officers and Judges throughout the kingdomⁿ; and this was done on both sides of Jordan in all businesses of the Lord, and in the service of the King^o. In the beginning of

¹ 1 Sam. xv. 27. 32. 35.

^m 1 Chron. xxiii. 1. 2.

ⁿ Ver. 4.

^o 1 Chron. xxvi. 30. 32.

Solomon's reign, Abiathar the High Priest was in all the great counsels of that state, but falling into the treason of Adonijah, he was deprived by Solomon, and Zadoc made High Priest in his room^p. And when Jehosaphat repaired the decays of that state, he set the Priests and the Levites in their right places again, according to that law in Deut. xvii. 8, 9. and restored to them that power in judicature which was by God's appointment settled in them^q. And that he had relation to that law is manifest, because he pitches almost upon the same words^r, as Dr. Raynolds^s hath observed before me. And Jehoiada the High Priest was the preserver of Joash, the right heir of the crown, against the usurpations of Athaliah; and when he had settled him in his kingdom, though not without force of arms, and they also ordered by Jehoiada^t, he was inward in his counsels, and was ruled by him in his marriage^u, and he died with this testimony, that this young

^p 1 Kings ii. 27. 35. ^q 2 Chron. xix. 8. ^r Ver. 10.

^s Conf. with Hart, c. 6. Divis. 2. p. 203. ^t 2 Chron.

xxiii. 8. ^u 2 Chron. xxiv. 2.

King did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, all the days wherein Jehoiada instructed him^x. But after his death, you may read what befel Joash^y. In all the conduct of this people out of Egypt, in which many temporal businesses did occur, Aaron was joined with Moses in and through all. Thou ledest thy people like sheep (saith the Prophet) by or in the hand of Moses and Aaron^z. The Prophet David was a great shepherd himself, and knew very well what belonged to leading the people; and you see he is so far from separating Aaron from Moses in the great work of leading the people, that though they be two persons, and have two distinct powers, yet in regard the one is subordinate and subservient to the other, they are reputed to have but one hand in this great work. And therefore in the original, and in all the translations which render it, it is said *in manu*, not *in manibus*, in the hand, not in the hands, of Moses and Aaron. So necessary did God in His wisdom think it, that Aaron should be near about

^x 2 Kings xii.^y 2 Chron. xxiv.^z Ps. lxxvii.

Moses in the government of His people. And as the Priests and Levites were great men in the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, so were two of them ever in all the lesser Sanhedrims in the several cities of every tribe; for so Josephus^a witnesses expressly, that two of them were ever allotted to each magistracy. Jero-boam's sin it was, and a great one, to make the lowest of the people Priests^b; and I pray God it be not the sin of this age to make the Priests the lowest of the people.

So by this I think it appears, that nothing of like antiquity can well be more clear, than that four thousand years before and under the Law, the Priests, especially the chief Priests, did meddle in, and help manage the greatest temporal affairs. And this, as this honourable person cannot but know, so I presume he was willing warily to avoid. For he tells you he

^a Oppidatim præsent septem viri probatæ virtutis et justitiæ cultores: singulis Magistratibus attribuantur duo Ministri de Tribu Levitica. Joseph. l. iv. Antiq. c. 8.

^b 1 Kings xii. 13.

shall not need to begin so high. Not need? And why so? Why, it is because (saith he) the question is only what concerns Bishops as they are Ministers of the Gospel, and that which was before being of another nature can give no rule to this. No man doubts but this question in Parliament belongs only to Bishops as they are Ministers of the Gospel, nay, more particularly than so, as they are Ministers of the Gospel in the Church of England only. For either this must be said, or else granted it must be by this honourable Lord, that the Parliament of England takes upon them to limit Episcopacy through all the Christian world, and to teach all states therein, what they are to do with their Bishops. And this were as bold a part for the English Parliament to do, as it is for a private Englishman to censure the Parliament. And truly, for my own part, I cannot tell how to excuse the Parliament in this. For though in the Act^c now passed there be nothing enacted but that which concerns Bishops, and such as are in Holy Orders here,

^c Feb. 15, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$.

because their power stretches no farther than this kingdom, yet their aim and their judgment is general. And this appears by the Preface of that Act, which runs thus. ‘Whereas Bishops, and other persons in Holy Orders, ought not to be entangled with secular jurisdiction,’ &c. Ought not: therefore in their judgment it is *malum per se*, a thing in itself unlawful for any man in Holy Orders to meddle in, or help manage, temporal affairs. For though their words be, ought not to be entangled, (which as that word entangled bears sense in English, and stands for an absolute hindering of them from the works of their own calling, I grant as well as they,) yet the Act proceeds generally to divest them of all power and jurisdiction in civil affairs, whether they be entangled with them or not.

But be it so, that this question belongs to Bishops only as they are Ministers of the Gospel, yet why may not the ancient usage before the Law, and the Law of God Himself, give a rule to this? For sure, if they can give no rule in this, then can they give no rule to any thing else

under the Gospel, that is not simply moral in itself, as well as none to Prelates, and their assisting in temporal affairs. Which opinion how many things it will disjoint both in Church and State, is not hard to see. First then, I shall endeavour to make it appear, that the practice of pious men before the Law, and the precept of the Law, can give a rule to many things under the Gospel; and then I will examine how, and how far those things may be said to be of another nature, which is the reason given why they can give no rule in this.

For the first, that they can give a rule, I hope it will appear very plainly. For in things that are typical, the type must prefigure the antitype, and give a kind of rule to make the antitype known: therefore in typical things no question is or can be made, but that the things which were under the Law can give a rule to us Christians. Though this bold proposition runs universally, without excepting things typical or any other. Besides, the Priests had a hand in all temporal affairs, and in matters which were no way typical, but merely belonging to order and

government, as appears by the proofs before made. And therefore the Jews may be precedents for Christians, which could not possibly be if they could give us no rule. Nor is this any new doctrine. For that ancient Commentary under the name of St. Ambrose^e tells us expressly, that that which is mentioned by St. Paul is a custom of the synagogue, which he would have us to follow. And as this doctrine is not new, so neither is it refused by later writers, and some of them as learned almost as this Lord. For that which was ordered^f, that they 'should stand every morning and evening to thank and praise the Lord,' is precedent enough to presume that the like is not against the Law of God. And Calvin^g speaks it out expressly. In regard (saith he) that God Himself instituted that they should offer sacrifice morning and evening, *inde colligitur*, it is thence collected plainly, that the Church cannot want a certain discipline. So

^e S. Ambrose in 1 Cor. xiv. 30. *Traditio Synagogæ est quam nos vult sectari.*

^f 1 Chron. xxiii. 30.

^g Calv. in Act. iii. 1.

here the Jews' discipline gives an express rule to us. And it is very learnedly and truly observed by a late writer of ours^h, that there is no such light to the true meaning of Scripture, as the practice of matters contained in it under the synagogue, and in the Church afterwards. Now what light can we possibly receive from the synagogue, if those things which were before can give no rule to us? Besides, for ought I know of this Lord's religion, he may brand all the Old Testament as deeply as the Manichees did of old, or go very near it, if it can give no rule, and so be of no use to Christians. St. Augustineⁱ was of another mind through all his books against Faustus the Manichee. And St. Ambrose^k most expressly, and very frequently; recommended this, *tanquam regulam*, as a rule to the people. And in this very case of Episco-

^h Her. Thorndike, Epistle to the Reader before his Tract of Religious Assemblies.

ⁱ S. Aug. contra Faustum.

^k S. Aug. lib. vi. Confess. c. 4. Vetera Scripta Legis et Prophetarum, tanquam regulam diligentissime commendavit Ambrosius in popularibus Sermonibus.

pacy, Clemens Romanus¹ tells us, there is a kind of parallel between Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, in the one, and High Priests, Priests, and Levites, in the other Church. And St. Jerome^m speaks it out, that such as Aaron and his sons, and the tribe of Levi, were in the Temple, the same are Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons in the Church of Christ. And this they might justly challenge to themselves, and make it a rule.

But it is time to proceed to other particulars. In the case of tithes, we find that they were due *jure divino*, by divine right, to the Priests under the Law, and some were paid before the Law, no man doubts; but many will not grant that there is any divine right, commanding or ordering them to be paid to the Priests under the Gospel. Yet this is undeniable, that tithes have been paid to the Ministers under the Gospel, in all or most parts of Christendom,

¹ Clem. Ep. ad Corinth. p. 52, 53.

^m Quod Aaron et filii ejus, atque Levitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, Presbyteri atque Diaconi vendicant in Ecclesia. S. Hier. Ep. ad Evagr.

for many hundreds of years together; and God be thanked, the payment continues yet in some places. What was it then, if not divine right, that gave the rule to Christians for this kind of payment, but the practice before the Law, and the precept under it? Shall we say here, as this Lord doth, that what was before can give no rule to this? Now God forbid. The whole Christian world thought otherwise.

And whatsoever becomes of the controversy about tithes, yet this is certain, that the Ministers of the Gospel ought to have a liberal and free maintenance. Men, whom they serve in and for Christ, must not open their mouths too often to preach, and muzzle them whom they should feed. And the rule for this is given by the Law; for it is written in the Law of Moses, ‘Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treads out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen, or saith He it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes no doubt this is writtenⁿ.’ And yet how many of these oxen are poorly suited, and in a manner muzzled, is evident enough.

ⁿ 1 Cor. ix. 9.

How comes this to pass? How? Why surely, the Apostle St. Paul was utterly deceived here, ask my Lord else; for he proves this point of their maintenance, because it is so written in the Law of Moses, whereas that Law which was before can give no rule to this.

Again, 'The Lord Himself hath ordained, (so saith St. Paul^o,) that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel.' Not starve by the Gospel, but live upon it; live plentifully and decently. But by what rule did the Lord Himself proceed in this? If His will had been His rule, no rule so strait, it could not but have been just. But St. Paul tells us there^p, that God Himself proceeded by another rule; 'Do ye not know (saith he) that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the Temple; and they which wait on the Altar are partakers with the Altar? Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κύριος διέταξε,—even so hath the Lord ordained.' Just so: that as the Priests and Levites under the Law did wait on the Altar and live by it, so must they who preach the Gospel, by the Gospel.

° Ver. 14.

p Ver. 13.

Just so. Why then, how did the Priests under the Law live? It is set down at large^q; and a very full portion they had, so full as that they might have no inheritance amongst their brethren, the Lord's portion which was made theirs was so great, yet οὐτω, so the Lord ordained for the Ministers of the Gospel. Press this a little farther, and it will come to the quick. The Priests and Levites under the Law, besides their partaking with the Altar, had the tithes of all duly paid them. Will not οὐτω reach to this too? If so, then it is clear in the text, that the Lord Himself ordained payment of tithes to the Ministers of the Gospel. For He ordained that the Ministers of the Gospel should live of the Gospel, οὐτω, just as the Priests under the Law did of the Altar. I will not be peremptory in this sense of the text, yet I would have it well considered. And howsoever, that a free and plentiful certain maintenance is the ordinance of the Lord Himself, is by this text as clear as the sun. Now this Lord should do well to tell St. Paul, that either he mistook the Lord's ordinance,

^q Deut. xviii. 1. Numb. x. 9.

or if he did not, that then the Lord Himself was mistaken in so ordaining for the Ministers of the Gospel, because what was before can give no rule to this.

Farther yet, you may see the vanity, the nothing of this bold assertion in other particulars beside the case of tithing. For if neither the state of man before the Law, nor the Law itself, can give any rule in things of this kind, to us that live under the Gospel; then there is nothing in God's Law that can give a rule to us, but that a man may remove his neighbour's land-mark, he may lead the blind out of the way, he may smite his neighbour so it be secretly, he may marry in many degrees of consanguinity, and what may he not? For all these, and many things more, are prohibited only in the Law^r. But that going before can give no rule to these. Now the Apostle tells us^s, that 'those things were our examples, and written for our admonition.' And he speaks of things before and under the Law. And more generally^t, 'What-

^r Deut. xxvii. Levit. xviii.

^s 1 Cor. x. 6, 11.

^t Rom. xv. 4.

soever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning.' Now, learn well and certainly we cannot, but by rule; and therefore most manifest it is, that those things which were before can give us rules, whatsoever is here said to the contrary.

Two things there are which work much with me, why this Lord should say that the things which were before and under the Law can give no rule in this: and if not in this, then not in things like to this. The one is the power which Kings have in their several dominions over the external government and polity of the Church. The Apostle's rule goes in the general only, 'let every soul be subject'.^u But the rule drawn down to particulars is from the commended practice of the Kings of Judah under the Law. Now if these can give us no rule, then we have none at all brought down to particulars, wherein that power consists. And here this Lord being a known Separatist from the Church of England, (as appears most manifestly by another speech of his Lordship's in Parliament, and printed

^u Rom. xiii. 1.

with this,) separates, I doubt, from her doctrine too, and will not (could he speak out with safety) allow Kings any power at all in Church affairs, more than to be the executioners to see the orders of their Assemblies executed, in such things as they need the civil sword. And therefore he doth wisely in his generation, to say, that the things which were before can give no rule in this.

The other is, that there is of late a name of scorn fastened upon the brethren of the separation, and they are commonly called Roundheads, from their fashion of cutting close and rounding of their hair: a fashion used in Paganism^{*} in

^{*} It is evident the Grecians did wear long hair, and therefore Homer calls them *Καρηνομοῶντας Ἀχαιοὺς*, *Capite comatos Achivos*, l. 2. Iliad. And Eustathius, commenting upon that place, saith, they wear it long at other times, but cut it in the time of sorrow. And Achilles and his company cut off their hair, and cast it upon the dead body of Patroclus to cover it. Homer l. 23. Il. And at the funeral of Achilles, the Grecians are said to shed warm tears, *χίροντ' τε χαιτὰς*—and to have cut their hair. Homer. l. 24. Od.

That the Romans wore their hair long, is evident by Varro, who saith that barbers were not known in Italy

the times of their mournings, and sad occurrences, as these seem to do, putting on in out-

before the year 454, post U. C. About that time Tici-nius Menas brought them in. Varro, l. 2. de Re Rust. c. ult.

And that they did cut their hair at funerals, is plain in Andreas Tiraquel.—*Romani in aliis luctibus quam funerum capillum Barbamque promittebant.* Annot. in Alex. ab Alex. l. 3. c. 7. But then they cut them.

And when this rounding went close, indeed it came somewhat near baldness ; which the Jews were likewise forbidden to make upon themselves for the dead, Deut. xiv. 1. and Jeremiah xvi. 8.

And as this rounding of the head was sometimes a sign of superstitious sorrowing, so was it (with some difference) used as an effeminate and luxurious fashion. And therefore Ganimedes were said *περὶ χείρῃσθαι*, *circumtondere*. Dio. Chrysost. Orat. 2. de Regno. And harlots.

After which manner they say harlots were cut, *εἶναι δὲ περιτρίσχαλον*. And that it was a kind of rounding the head, Hesychius in Lexico, verbo *σκαφίον*. Which kind of rounding the hair Tertullian mentions, L. de Cultu Fœminarium, c. 8. and L. de Pallio, c. 4. he objects the use of it to his Carthaginians.

And in some places, this rounding of the head was a mark of servitude and vassallage, as among the ancient French, where the king only and the heir apparent had *Jus Capilitii*, in token of his regality, and the rest were

ward show, at least a sour look and a more severe carriage than other men. This fashion of rounding the head, God Himself forbids His people to practise, the more to withdraw from the superstitions of the Gentiles. 'Ye shall not round the corners of your heads'. This express text of Scripture troubled the Brownists and the rest extremely; and therefore this Lord being a great favourer of theirs, if not one himself, hath thought upon this way to ease their minds, and his own. For it is no matter for this text, nor for their resembling Heathen idolaters; they may round their heads safely, since those things which were before can give no rule in this. And I do not doubt but that if this world go on, the dear sisters of these

Circumtonsi. Selden, Præfat. to his titles of honour, *Ex Cedreno.* But whether the round-heads do it for superstition, or for luxury, or out of any base and servile condition, I cannot tell; though I think there need be little question, but that many of them are guilty of all three, their hypocrisy being not a robe large enough to hide all of them; and some of their conventicles have of late heard ill.

γ Lev. xix. 27.

rattle-heads will no longer keep silence in their churches or conventicles, since the Apostle surely is deceived, where he saith, that 'women are not permitted to speak in the churches, because they are to be under obedience, as also saith the Law^s.' For the Law and those things which were before can give no rule in this; and therefore they shall not need to go as high as Adam to answer this. They shall not need in this, nor we in that of Episcopacy, go so high as Adam. But yet we may if we will, for so high the Apostle goes in this place.

And I thank this Lord for that liberty, (if he means so well,) that though we need not go so high, yet we may if we list. And this is most certain, that any State Christian may receive all or as much of the judicial Law of Moses as they please, and find fit for them; and as much of the ceremonial as detracts not from Christ come in the flesh. And since all law is a rule, this could not be done if those laws being before could be no rule to us.

This is proof enough (as I conceive) that

• 1 Cor. xiv.

these things which were before, can give a rule to us now under the Gospel. My Lord thinks not so, for this reason, because they are of another nature. Secondly, therefore the reason comes to be examined. Wherein I shall weigh two things. First, whether the Law of Moses and the Gospel of Christ are things of another nature, and how far? And secondly, whether this be universally true, that among things of another nature one cannot give a rule to another.

1. For the first, I shall easily acknowledge a great deal of difference between the Law and the Gospel. They differ in the strictness of the covenant made under either: they differ in the Sacraments and Sacramentals used in either: they differ in the extent and continuance of either: they differ in the way and power of justifying a sinner; and perhaps in more things than these. And in these things in which they thus differ, and *qua*, as they so differ, the Law can give no rule to Christians; but whether these differences do make the Law and the Gospel things of quite another nature, (which are the words here used,) I cannot but doubt a little.

First, because more or less strictness doth not vary the covenant in nature though it doth in grace; for *magis et minus non variant speciem*^a, more or less in any thing does not make a specifical difference, and therefore not in nature. And use of different Sacraments do not make things to be of another nature, where *res Sacramenti*, the substance of the Sacrament is one and the same. And so it is here. For one and the same Christ is the substance of Circumcision and the Pascal Lamb, as well as of Baptism and the Eucharist. For our fathers under the Law ‘did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ^b.’ And much less can extent or continuance vary nature: not extent; for fire contained in a chimney, and spread miserably over a city, is one and the same in nature. Not continuance; for then a father

^a And so Arist. pursues it. Imperare et parere, non differunt secundum magis et minus, quia differunt specie. Arist. l. ii. Polit. c. 8.

^b 1 Cor. x. 3, 4.

and his son should not be of the same nature, if the one live longer than the other. And as for the way and power of justification, they difference the Law and the Gospel, not so much in their nature as in their relation to Christ, Who alone is our justification^c, and was theirs also who lived under the Law, for both they and we were and are justified by the same faith in the same Christ.

And this seems to me very plain in Scripture. 'For to this day (saith the Apostle) the vail remains upon the Jews in the reading of the Old Testament, which vail is done away in Christ, but we all with open face behold as in a glass the glory of the Lord^d.' So one and the same Christ is in the Old Testament as well as in the New. Not so plainly; but there, though under a vail. Now a vail on and a vail off, a dimmer and a clearer sight in and by the one than by the other, do in no case make the things of another nature.

Again; We find it expressly written^e, that the 'Law was our schoolmaster to bring us to

^c 1 Cor. i. 30. ^d 2 Cor. iii. 14, 18. ^e Gal. iii. 24.

Christ, that we might be justified by faith.' Our schoolmaster; therefore it must needs be able to give rules unto us, or else it can never teach us. And the rules it gives are very good too, or else they can never bring us unto Christ, that we may be justified by faith; which to do, St. Paul here tells us is the end of the Law's instruction. And this instruction it could not so fully give, if this schoolmaster were so of another nature as that it could not give us a rule in this.

Besides, the type and the antitype, the shadow and the substance, howsoever they may be of another nature if you look upon their entity, yet in their relative nature, as type and antitype, shadow and substance, they are of the same nature, and have mutual dependence either upon other, and give rules mutually either to other, and a proof one of another. For a man may take the measure of the body by the shadow, and of the shadow by the body. And so it is between the Law and the Gospel; the sacrifices in the one, and Christ in the other. For 'the Law had but the shadow of good things to come,

and not the very image of the things themselves, and therefore with those sacrifices could make nothing perfect^f. But Christ is the Body itself^g. And when 'He came into the world, He saith, Sacrifice and burnt-offering Thou wouldest not have, but a Body hast Thou given Me^h.' How shall this appear? How? Why, by the very rules given in the Law. For so the Prophet tells us in the Person of Christ. 'In the volume of the Book it is written of Meⁱ.' Nay, so says Christ Himself^k. 'Had ye believed Moses ye would have believed Me, for he wrote of Me.' And to bring all home close to the present business; Christ, as God, of another nature quite from Melchisedec, yet in relation to the Priesthood, as type and antitype, not so; for Christ was Man also, and the one gave a kind of rule to the other. For 'Christ was made a Priest after the order of Melchisedec,' κατὰ τὴν τάξιν: or as Mont. reads in the margin *secundum morem*, according to the form, manner, or rule, of Melchisedec's Priesthood. And as Melchi-

^f Heb. x. 1.

^g Col. ii. 17.

^h Heb. x. 4.

ⁱ Ps. xl. 7.

^k John v. 46.

sedec and Christ are type and antitype in their Priesthood¹, so the Priesthood of Aaron under the Law, was but a shadow of the Priesthood of Christ under the Gospel. And therefore the Priesthood which is now, ought in all privileges to exceed that under the Law, in as much as the antitype and the body is of more worth than the type and the shadow. I say, in all privileges which are not appropriated by God Himself to the Priesthood of the Law.

2. Secondly, It may be considered too, whether this be universally true; that among things which are of another nature, one cannot give a rule to another. For my own part, I doubt there is not truth in the rule, but instead of truth a great deal of danger. And surely, if this be generally true, that that which was before (being of another nature) can give no rule to this; that is, if that which was both before and under the Law concerning Priesthood can give no rule, none at all, to the

¹ For those Priests served but to the example, and to the shadow, &c. But now hath he obtained a more excellent Ministry. Heb. viii. 5, 6.

Ministry under the Gospel, then can it give no rule in any thing else : because the Law is as much of another nature, in regard of other things, as of this. Nay, this very thing, the Priesthood, makes the Law to be of another nature more than any thing else. And so the Apostle plainly^m, ‘ For the Priesthood being changed, made of necessity a change also of the Law.’ But be this change, this other nature, what it will, if the Law can give no rule at all in this, (which again is directly contrary to the Apostleⁿ,) then can it give no rule in any thing else pertaining to the Gospel. For the reason if it be good, holds alike, it is of another nature.

Nay, yet farther, if this reason be true, universally true, (as it is here given,) then it reaches to and through the whole Law. No part of it can give any rule to men or things under the Gospel. For if no rule to things, then none to men, who must do or leave undone ; and if so, then the moral Law can give no rule to men under the Gospel, more than the ceremonial or the judicial Law. For the

^m Heb. vii. 12.

ⁿ 1 Cor. ix. 9, 13.

whole Law was before the Gospel, and here said, without any distinction, to be of another nature, and so unable to give a rule. And for ought I know, this zealous Lord may be of this opinion. For this lewd doctrine hath been somewhat common of late among his favourites, that moral honesty is an enemy to the grace of Christ; that harlots and debauched persons are nearer to the kingdom of God, than they which labour to shew themselves moral men, and the like. As if they went to teach the people to live lewdly, and to do evil that good may come thereof, whose damnation, the Apostle tells us, is justⁿ. Whereas 'Christ came not to take away the Law, but to fulfil' it for us^o, and in some measure to enable us to keep it also. And in the Gospel, when the Scribe told our Saviour, that to 'love God with all the heart, and his neighbour as himself,' (upon which commandments hang the whole Law^p,) 'was more than all burnt sacrifices,' our Saviour did not tell him that harlots were nearer the Kingdom of God than he, or that this Law, being of another

ⁿ Rom. iii. 8.^o Mat. v. 17.^p Mat. xxii. 40.

nature, could give him no rule for his life. But quite contrary, He told him for his comfort, and the comfort of obedience, that he was not ‘ far from the Kingdom of God ¹.’ And though this be bad enough, and will prove a fruitful mother of all libertinism and profaneness, yet there is a greater danger behind. For if the grace of Christ under the Gospel be a discharge of the moral Law, and disenable it to give a rule, as being of another nature, what shall become of God the Lawgiver Himself in all kinds ? For He is quite of another nature, eminently and infinitely exceeding us, and whatsoever is or can be naturally in us ; yea, or supernaturally either. And what now ? Shall not God Himself, being of another nature, give us any rule in this or any thing else ? I know this Lord will say, this is not his meaning. No truly, I hope it is not. But then this Lord, if he will needs be writing and printing, should so express himself, as that he may not expose his words to such unsavoury consequences as (for ought I know) may justly be gathered from them. Aud let me tell him

¹ Mat. xii. 34.

in the mean time, it is a dangerous thing to be so busy with the Law of God; and so without distinction, as he is, lest he intrench upon the Lawgiver before he be aware.

Howsoever, in this proposition of his, that that which is before being of another nature, can give no rule to this, leaves him at a loss which way soever to turn himself. For since it is manifest by the Apostle in the places^r before cited, that the Law of Moses which was before, doth give a rule to divers things under the Gospel; this Lord of the separation is at a loss every way. For if the Law and that which was before be not of another nature from this, then his reason is false, which says it can give no rule because it is of another nature, and so he is at a loss in that. And if it be of another nature, yet it appears by the Apostle's practice, that for all that it can give a rule in this. For that which can give the Apostle a rule, can give a rule to us: and so he is at a loss in the whole proposition. For whether that which was before, be or be not of another nature, yet it can give a rule.

^r 1 Cor. ix. 9, 13, 14. Rom. xv. 4. 1 Cor. x. 6, 11.

I have been long upon this passage, because I conceive the main controversy hangs and turns upon this hinge. And if any reader think it long or tedious, or be of this Lord's mind, that he need not go so high for proof, yet let him pardon me, who in this am quite of another judgment. And for the pardon, I shall gratify him, by being as brief as possibly I can in all that follows. Thus then this Lord proceeds:

“ The question which will lie before your
“ Honours in passing this Bill, is not,
“ whether Episcopacy (I mean this
“ Hierarchical Episcopacy which the
“ world now holds forth to us) shall
“ be taken away root and branch;
“ but, whether those exuberant and
“ superfluous branches, which draw
“ away the sap from the tree, and
“ divert it from the right and proper
“ use, whereby it becomes unfruitful,
“ shall be cut off, as they use to pluck
“ up suckers from the root.”

After this Lord had told us we need not go so high for the business, he comes now to state the present question. Where he tells us what himself means by Episcopacy. Namely, Hierarchical Episcopacy, such as is properly and now commonly so called in the world. And this his Lordship adds, because of that distinction made by Beza in his Tract *de Triplici Episcopatu, Divino scilicet, Humano et Satânico*. In which, what part Beza plays I will forbear to speak, but leave him and his gall of bitterness to the censure of the learned. Sir Edw. Deering in his printed speeches tells us*, that others in milder language keep the same sense, and say there is *Episcopus, Pastor, Præses*, and *Princeps*. So in his account *Episcopus, Princeps*, and *Satanicus*, is all one in milder terms. But the truth is, that in the most learned and flourishing ages of the Church, the Bishops were, and were called, *Principes*, Chief and Prime, and Prince, if you will, in Church affairs. For so Optatus† calls them the

* Sect. 16. p. 122.

† Apices et Principes omnium. Optat. l. adv. Parm.

Chief, and Princes. And so likewise did divers others of the Fathers, even the best learned and most devout. And this title is given to Diocesan or Hierarchical Bishops, which doubtless these Fathers would neither have given nor taken, had *Episcopus*, *Princeps*, and *Satanicus* been all one. Nor would Calvin^u have taught us, that the Primitive Church had in every province among their Bishops one Archbishop, and that in the Council of Nice Patriarchs were appointed which should be in order and dignity

Princeps Ecclesiæ. S. Hilar. l. viii. de Trin. Prin.

Greg. Nazianz. ascribit ἀρχν, Principarum, ad Regimen Animarum Episcopo. Orat. 17. et 20.

Quid aliud est Episcopus quam is qui omni Principatu et Potestate superior est? in materia et gradu Religionis. Ignat. Ep. ad Trall.

Principes Ecclesiæ fiunt, &c. Opus imperf. in S. Matth. Hom. 35.

Principes futuros Ecclesiæ Episcopos nominavit. S. Hier. in Esai. vi. 60.

^u Quod autem singulæ Provinciæ unum habebant inter Episcopos Archiepiscopum, quod item in Nicena Synodo constituti sunt Patriarchæ, qui essent ordine et dignitate Archiepiscopis superiores, id ad Disciplinæ conservationem pertinebat. Calv. 4 Inst. E. iv. 4.

above Bishops, had he thought either such Bishops or Archbishops to have been Satanical: and had Beza lived in those times, he would have been taught another lesson. And the truth is, Beza, when he wrote that Tract, had in that argument either little learning or no honesty. But for this Lord, whether he means by Hierarchical Episcopacy, the same which Beza, I will not determine. He uses a proper word and a civil, and I will not purpose to force him into a worse meaning than he hath, or make him a worse enemy to the Church (if worse he may be) than he is already. Though I cannot but doubt he is bathed in the same tub.

Having told us what he means by Episcopacy, he states the business thus: that the question is not whether this Hierarchical Episcopacy shall be taken away root and branch. So then I hope this Lord will leave a Hierarchy (such as it shall be) in the Church. We shall not have it all laid level. We shall not have that curse of root and branch (* for less it is not)

* Job xviii. 16.

laid upon us; or at least not yet. But what shall follow in time, when this Bill hath used its edge, I know not. Well, if not root and branch taken away, what then? What? why, it is but whether those exuberant and superfluous branches, which draw away the sap from the tree, and divert it from the right and proper use, whereby it becomes unfruitful, shall be cut off, as they use to pluck up suckers from the root. This Lord seems to be a good husbandman, but what he will prove in the orchard or garden of the Lord, I know not: for most true it is, that suckers are to be plucked from the root; and as true, that in the prime and great Vine, there are some branches which bear no fruit; and our Saviour Himself tells us, that they which are such, are to be taken away^y. And therefore I can easily believe it that in Episcopacy, which is a far lower Vine, under and in the service of Christ, and especially in the husbanding of it, there may be some such branches as this Lord speaks of, which draw away sap and divert it, and make the Vine less

fruitful; and no doubt but such branches are to be cut off. So far I agree, and God forbid but I should. But then there are divers other questions to be made and answered before this sharp Lord fall to cutting. As first, what branches they be which are exuberant and superfluous? (as this Lord is pleased to call them.) What time is fittest to cut them off? Whether they be not such as with pruning may be made fruitful? If not, then how near to the body they are to be cut off? Whether this Lord may not be mistaken in the branches which he thinks divert the sap? Whether a company of laymen without any order or ordinance from Christ, without any example from the days of Christ, may, without the Church, take upon them to prune and order this Vine? For, whatever this Lord thinks in the overabundance of his own sense, the Lord hath appointed husbandmen to order and prune this Vine, and all the branches of it, in His Church, without his usurpation of their office: and while he uses a Bill, (which is too boisterous a weapon for a vine,) instead of a pruning-hook, the

Church itself which is the Vine, which bears Episcopacy, may bleed to death in this kingdom, before men be aware of it. And I am in great fear, if things go on as they are projected, that Religion is upon taking its leave of this kingdom. But this Lord hath not quite done stating the question, for he tells us next, that,

“ The question will be no more but this,
“ Whether Bishops shall be reduced
“ to what they were in their first advancement over the Presbyters,
“ (which although it were but a
“ human device for the remedy of
“ schism, yet were they in those times
“ least offensive,) or continue still
“ with the addition of such things as
“ their own ambition, and the ignorance and superstition of succeeding times, did add thereunto, and
“ which are now continued for several
“ political ends; things heterogeneous
“ and inconsistent with their calling
“ and function as they are Ministers

“ of the Gospel, and thereupon such
“ as ever have been, and ever will be,
“ hurtful to themselves, and make
“ them hurtful to others in the times
“ and places where they are con-
“ tinued ?”

Here my Lord states the question again. He did it before under the metaphor of a tree and the branches. Here, that men of narrow comprehensions may not mistake him, he lays it down in plain terms, and tells us, the question is no more but this, Whether Bishops shall be reduced to what they were in their first advancement over the Presbyters ? And you may be sure they shall be reduced if they once fall into the hands of this zealous Lord. Reduced out of doubt every way, if he may have his will, saving to that which they were in the original, which his Lordship calls their first advancement over the Presbyters. For my own part, if it be thought fit to reduce the Christian Church to her first beginnings, give us the same power, and use us with the same reverence for our

works' sake, as then our predecessors were used, and reduce us in God's Name when you will. But this Lord's zeal burns quite another way. He tells us indeed, that the question is no more, but whether Bishops shall be reduced to what they were in their first advancement over the Presbyters; but he means nothing less than their reducement thither: and this is manifest out of his own next words. For there he says, their first advancement was but a human device for avoiding of schism. But a human device? Why first, our Saviour Himself chose twelve Apostles out of the whole number of His Disciples, and made them Bishops, and advanced over the Presbyters, and all other believing Christians, and gave them the name of Bishops as well as of Apostles; as appears, since that name was given even to Judas also as well as to the other Apostles, and to the other Apostles as well as to Judas, since Matthias was chosen by God Himself, both into the Bishopric and Apostleship of Judas^z. Now that Christ Himself did ordain the Apostles

^z Acts i. 20, 24, 25.

over the ordinary Disciples, Presbyters or others, is evident also in the very text; for He chose them out of His Disciples^a. And to what end was this choosing out, if after this choice they remained no more than they were before? Nay, He chose them out with a special ordination to a higher function; as appears in St. Mark iii. where it is said, ‘He ordained twelve that they should be with Him;’ that is, in a higher and nearer relation than the rest were. Nay more than so, the word there used by St. Mark is *ἐποίησεν*, He made them; He made them somewhat which before that making they were not; that is, Apostles and Bishops. Had they been such before, it could not have been said that He ‘made them then.’ And our last translation renders it very well, ‘He ordained them:’ so belike this making was a new ordination of them. And this appears farther by the choice of Matthias into the Apostleship of Judas: for Matthias^b was one of the Seventy when he was chosen; and then this choice needed not, if the

^a Luke vi. 13. *ἐκλεξάμενος*.

^b Euseb. l. i. Hist. c. 12. and l. ii. c. 1.

Seventy had been before of equal place and calling with the Apostles. For as S. Jerome^c speaks, he that is preferred, is preferred *de minori ad majus*, from a less and a lower, to a greater and a higher degree. Now it is *traditio universalis*, the constant and universal tradition of the whole Church of Christ, which is of greatest authority next to Scripture itself, that^d Bishops are successors of the Apostles, and Presbyters made in resemblance of the Seventy

^c S. Hieron. Ep. ad Occan.

^d Apud nos Apostolorum locum tenent Episcopi: apud eos (i. e. Montani Sectatores) Episcopus tertius est. S. Hier. Ep. ad Marcel. adv. Montan.

Patres missi sunt Apostoli, pro Apostolis filii nati sunt, ibi constituti sunt Episcopi. S. Aug. in Ps. xlv.

Sicut autem duodecim Apostolos formam Episcoporum præmonstrare nemo est qui dubitet, sic et hos LXXII figuram Presbyterorum, i. e. secundi Ordinis Sacerdotium egessisse sciendum est. Beda in Luc. 10.

Apostoli cognoverunt contentionem de Nomine Episcopatus oboriturum, et ideo constituerunt prædictos, et cum consensu Universæ Ecclesiæ. Clem. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. p. 57.

But I am prevented here by a Chaplain of mine, Mr. Jer. Taylor, in his Book entitled *Episcopacy Asserted*, §. 10.

Disciples. And so the institution of Christ Himself (for so by this Lord's leave I shall ever take Episcopacy to be) is made but a human device to avoid schism. But there hath been so much written of late to prove Episcopacy no human device, that I will not trouble the reader with any more of it here: only we are thus far beholding to this Lord, that he thinks Bishops were in those times least offensive; so belike in the Apostles' times they were offensive, though less. And this makes me doubt, he thinks as much of the Apostles themselves, since they were so ambitious as to take on them superiority over their brethren, which this great Lord of the separation (for so he is) cannot endure, as being Antichristian, and therefore certainly (if he may have his will) will reduce the Bishops farther yet, till they be of his marring, and not of Christ's making.

The other part of the question stated by this Lord is, Or whether the Bishops shall continue still with the addition of such things as their own ambition, and the ignorance and supersti-

tion of succeeding times, did add unto them. I would my Lord had been pleased to tell us what those things are, which he says are thus added unto them. I should much the better have seen what his Lordship aims at, and been able to come up the closer to him. Now I must be forced to answer him in general. That there are many things of honour and profit, which Emperors and great Kings have conferred upon Bishops to the better settlement of their calling, and the great advancement of Christianity; and for which Bishops in all times and places, in which they have lived, have been both thankful and very serviceable. And I could give many instances in this kingdom of such services done by them, as this Lord and all his posterity will never equal. But what things their own ambition or the ignorance and superstition of succeeding times have added to them, I may know when this busy Lord is at leisure to tell me. In the mean time I doubt the piety and devotion of these times is here miscalled ignorance and superstition, while the knowledge of these times, in too many, is a

running headlong into sacrilege, as the best way to cure superstition.

But these things, whatever they be, his Lordship tells us, are now continued for several politic ends. Yea, and with his Lordship's favour, for several and great religious ends too. But if they were continued for politic ends only, so the policies be good and befitting Christians, I know no reason why they may not be continued. For, as for that which is here given by this Lord, it is either weak or false. He says these things are heterogeneal to their function, that is weak. For, it is not possible for any Priest, that is not cloistered, to live so in the world, as to meddle with nothing that is heterogeneal to their function. And he says farther, that these things are inconsistent with their function; and that is false. For if these things were simply inconsistent with Priesthood, God Himself would never have made Ely both Priest and Judge in Israel: nor should^e six of each Tribe have been of the Sanhedrim, and so by consequence six of the Tribe of Levi; and

^e Bertram de Polit. Jud. c. 6.

so the High Priest might be always one, and a chief in that great Court, which had cognizance of all things in that government: and their functions, as they are Ministers of the Gospel, is no more inconsistent with these things than the Levitical Priesthood was. For beside their sacrificing, they were to read and expound the Law, as well as we the Gospel. For so it is expressly set down^f. ‘ They (that is, the tribe of Levi) shall teach Jacob Thy judgments, and Israel Thy laws.’ So that meddling with temporal affairs was as great a distraction to them from their calling, as from ours; and as inconsistent with it, and so as hurtful to their consciences and their credits. And would God put all this upon them, which this Lord thinks so unlawful for us, if it were so indeed? But this Lord goes yet farther, and tells us, that these things are such as have ever been, and will ever be, hurtful to themselves, and make them hurtful to others in the times and places where they are continued. Good God! what fools we poor Bishops are, as were also our

^f Deut. xxxiii. 10.

predecessors for many hundred years together, that neither they nor we could see and discern, what was and is hurtful to ourselves, nor what then did, or yet doth make us hurtful to others, in times and places where they are continued to us? And surely, if my Lord means by this our meddling in civil affairs, when our Prince calls us to it, (as I believe he doth,) I doubt his Lordship is much deceived. For certainly, if herein the Bishops do their duties, as very many of them in several kingdoms have plentifully done, they cannot hurt themselves by it; and to others, and the very public itself, it hath occasioned much good both in Church and State. But now my Lord will not only tell us what these things are, but he will prove it also that they are hurtful to us.

“ And these things alone (says my Lord)
“ this Bill takes away; that is, their
“ offices and places in courts of judi-
“ cature, and their employment by
“ obligation of office in civil affairs.
“ I shall insist upon this to shew,

“ first, how these things hurt themselves; and secondly, how they have made and ever will make them hurtful to others.”

These things then you see which are so hurtful and dangerous to Bishops themselves, and make them as hurtful to others, are their offices, and places in courts of judicature, and their employment by obligation of office in civil affairs. Where, first, for offices; I know no Bishop since the Reformation that hath been troubled with any, but only Dr. Juxon, when Bishop of London, was Lord High Treasurer of England for about five years. And he was made when the King's affairs were in a great strait; and, to my knowledge, he carried so, that if he might have been left to himself, the King might have been preserved from most of those difficulties, into which he after fell for want of money. As all Kings shall be hazarded, more or less, in some time or other of their reign, and much the more if their purses be empty, and they forced to seek aid

from their subjects. And this, as it is every where true, yet it is most true in England.

As for places in courts of judicature, the Bishops of England have ever sat all of them in Parliament, the highest court, ever since Parliaments were in England. And whatsoever is now thought of them, they have in their several generations done great services there: and, as I conceive, it is not only fit but necessary they should have votes in that great court; howsoever the late Act hath shut them out; and that Act must in time be repealed, or it shall undoubtedly be worse for this kingdom than yet it is. The Bishops sat in no other courts, but the Star Chamber, and the High Commission. And of these the High Commission was most proper for them to sit, and see sin punished: for no causes were handled there but Ecclesiastical, and those such as were very heinous, either for the crime itself, or the persons which committed it, being too great or too wilful to be ruled by the inferior jurisdictions. As for the Star Chamber, there were ordinarily but two Bishops present, and it was fit some should be there: for that

court was a mixed court of law, equity, honour, and conscience, and was composed of persons accordingly from the very original of that court. For there were to be there two Judges to take care of the laws, and two Bishops to look to the conscience, and the rest men of great offices or birth, or both, to preserve the honour, and all of them together to maintain the equity of the court. So here were but two Bishops employed, and those only twice a week in Term time. As for the Council Table, that was never accounted a court, yet as matters civil were heard and often ended there, so were some ecclesiastical too. But the Bishops were little honoured with this trouble since the Reformation: for many times no Bishop was of the Council Table, and usually not above two. Once in King James's time I knew three, and once four, and that was the highest, and but for a short time. And certainly the fewer the better, if this Lord can prove (that which he says he will insist upon) that those things are hurtful to themselves, and make them hurtful to others. And to do this he proceeds;

“ They themselves are hurt thereby in
“ their conscience and in their credits.
“ In their conscience, by seeking and
“ admitting things which are incon-
“ sistent with that function and office
“ which God hath set them apart
“ unto.”

His Lordship begins with this, That the Bishops are hereby hurt both in their consciences and their credits. Two great hurts indeed, if by these things they be wounded in their consciences towards God, and in their credits before men. But I am willing to hope these are not real but imaginary hurts, and that this Lord shall not be able to prove it otherwise: yet I see he is resolved to labour it as much as he can. And first, he would prove that these things, and not the ambitious seeking of them only, but the very admitting of them, though offered, or in a manner laid upon some of them by the supreme power, are hurtful to their consciences, because they are inconsistent with the function to which God hath set them

apart. But I have proved already, that they are not inconsistent with that function, and so there is an end of this argument. For Bishops, without neglect of their calling, may spend those few hours required of them, in giving their assistance in and to the forenamed civil affairs. And it is well known that St. Augustin did both in great perfection, so high up in the Primitive Church, and in that great and learned age: for he complains^g that he had nor forenoon nor afternoon free, he was so held to it, *occupationibus hominum*, by the businesses which men brought to him; and he desires that he may ease himself in part upon him that was at his desire designed his successor; to which the people expressed their great liking, by their acclamation. And these businesses he dispatched with that great dexterity to most men's content, ^hthat men did not only bring their secular causes before him, but were very de-

^g S. Aug. Ep. 110.

^h Et homines quidam causas suas sæculares apud nos finire capientes, &c. S. Aug. Epist. 147. et Amb. l. v. Epist. 33.

sirous to have him determine them. ⁱAnd St. Ambrose was in greater employment for secular affairs than St. Augustin was, for he was Bishop and Governor of Milan both at once ; and was so full of this employment, that St. Augustin, being then upon the point of his conversion, complains he could not find him at so much leisure as he would. And this, besides many Bishops and Clergymen of great note, who have been employed in great embassies, and great offices under Emperors and Kings, and discharged them with great fidelity and advantage to the public, and without detriment to the Church. And surely they would never have

ⁱ Non enim quærere ab eo poteram quod volebam sicut volebam, secludentibus me ab ejus aure et ore catervis negotiorum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus serviebat. S. Aug. l. vi. Confess. c. 3.

Similiter Zozomen. refert de Epiphanio, l. vi. Hist. c. 3.

Et de Jacobo quodam, Theod. l. ii. Hist. c. 30.

Et de Chrysostomo, Socrat. l. vii. Hist. c. 8.

Et Constantinus communicabat cum Episcopis Consilia de expeditione sua contra Persas. Euseb. l. i. de vita Constant. c. 35.

taken this burthen upon them, had their conscience been hurt by it, or had it been inconsistent with their function, or absolutely against the ancient Canons of the Church, of which they were so conscientious and strict observers. My Lord goes on to another argument, and tells us ;

“ They are separated unto a special work,
“ and men must take heed how they
“ misemploy things dedicated, and
“ set apart, to the service of God.
“ They are called to preach the
“ Gospel, and set apart to the work
“ of the Ministry ; and the Apostle
“ saith, ‘ Who is sufficient for these
“ things ? ’ shewing that this re-
“ quireth the whole man : and all is
“ too little. Therefore for them to
“ seek or take other offices, which
“ shall require and tie them to employ
“ their time and studies in the affairs
“ of this world, will draw a guilt upon
“ them, as being inconsistent with

“ that which God doth call them, and
“ set them apart unto.”

This is my Lord's next argument : and truly I like the beginning of it very well, and I pray God this Lord may be mindful of it when time may serve. For surely men ought to take heed how they misemploy things dedicated and set apart to the service of God. And therefore, as Ministers must not misemploy their persons or their times, which are dedicated to God and His service ; no more must laymen take away and misemploy the Church revenues, devoutly given, dedicated, and set apart to maintain and hold up the service of God, and to refresh Christ in His poor members upon earth. And if ever a scrambling time come for the Church-lands, (as these times hereafter must,) I hope his Lordship will remember this argument of his, and help to hold back the violence from committing more sacrilege, whereas too much lies heavy on the kingdom already.

The rest of the argument will abide some examination. First then, most true it is, that

Bishops are called to preach the Gospel, and set apart to that work; but whether they be so set apart, as that, what necessity soever requires it, they may do nothing else but study and preach, is no great question. For certainly, they may in times of persecution labour many ways for their preservation, and in times of want for their sustenance, and at all times (if they be called to it) give their best counsel and advice for the public safety of the state as well as their own.

Nor doth that of the Apostle^k, ‘Who is sufficient for these things?’ hinder this at all. For though this great calling and charge requires the whole man, though all that the ablest man can do in it be too little, (all things simply and exactly considered,) yet he that saith here, ‘None are sufficient for these things,’ (for so much the question implieth,) saith also in the very next chapter, that God hath made him and others ‘able Ministers of the New Testament^l,’ and if able, then doubtless sufficient. And the Greek word is the same, *ἱκανος*, sufficient in the one place, and *ἐκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς*, made us sufficient

^k 2 Cor. ii. 16.

^l 2 Cor. iii. 6.

in the other : besides, it may be the sense of the places will bear it ; that no man is sufficient for the dignity of the office, which brings with it the savour of life or death to all men, and yet that many men are made sufficient by God's grace to perform this office ; that is, to bring both the one and the other. But howsoever, be the office as high as it is, and be the men never so sufficient, yet the function is such as cannot be daily performed by the Priest for the preaching part, nor attended by the people for their other necessary employments of life, which made the wisdom of God Himself command a Sabbath under the Law, and the Church to settle the Lord's-Day, and other Holy-days under the Gospel, for the public service and worship of God, and the instruction of the people. I say, in regard of this, a Bishop or a Priest who shall be judged fit for that public service, may give counsel in any civil affairs, and take upon him (if not seek) any office temporal, that may help and assist him in his calling, and give him credit and countenance to do the more good among his people, but not to the desertion of

his spiritual work. And this Lord is much deceived if he thinks all offices do require and tie them to employ their time and studies in the affairs of this world. If they be such offices as do, I grant with him, that to take them, (unless it be upon some urgent necessity,) may draw a guilt upon them: but if they be such as Clergymen may easily execute in their empty hours, without any great hindrance to their calling, and perhaps with great advantage to it, then, out of doubt, it can draw no guilt upon them which take them. And this Lord in this passage is very cunning: for, instead of speaking of Bishops having any thing to do in civil affairs, he speaks of nothing but taking of offices. Now a Clergyman may many ways have to do in temporal affairs, without taking any set office upon him, which shall not tie up his time or his studies to the affairs of this world, as it seems this Lord would persuade the world all do.

Now that a Bishop or other Clergyman may lawfully meddle with some temporal affairs, (always provided that he entangle^m not himself

^m 'Εμπερίστασι, implicatur.

with them; for that indeed no man doth that wars for Christ as he oughtⁿ,) is, I think, very evident, not only by that which the Priests did, and might do under the Law; but also by that which was done after Christ, in the Apostle's time, and by some of them. To study and practise physic is as much inconsistent with the function of a Minister of the Gospel, as to sit, consult, and give counsel in civil affairs: but St. Luke, though an Evangelist, continued his profession, as appears^o, where St. Paul says thus, ' Luke, the beloved physician, greets you ;' where St. Paul would never have called him a physician, had he left off that calling to attend the Gospel only. And St. Paul himself, when he might have lived on the Gospel by the Lord's own ordinance^p, would never have betaken himself to live by making of tents^q, only for a convenience, (as I conceive,) that he might work the more upon the people while he charged them not, if in so doing he had found it a hindrance to his preaching the Gospel :

ⁿ 2 Tim. ii. 4.^o Col. iv. 14.^p 1 Cor. ix.^q Acts xviii.

and this Lord and others, who would not have Ministers meddle with civil affairs, are content, not only to the disgrace of the Ministry, but even of Religion itself, to hear feltmakers, and ironmongers, and gardeners, and brewers, and clerks, and coachmen, preach God knows what stuff, and countenance them in this sacrilegious presumption. Nay, and are never troubled that these men have all their time taken up in the affairs of the world, but rather say their gifts are the greater, that they are able to do both: Out of doubt they hope that their coachmen-preachers shall hurry them to Heaven in some fiery chariot; and I myself in time might be brought to believe it too, did I not see Phaeton setting the Christian world on fire, but no Elias there. Nor yet will St. Paul's example any whit advantage them: for he was no ignorant tradesman, but a learned Pharisee, brought up under Gamaliel^r. And it was the custom of their doctors (as it is at this day in Turkey, and many other places in the East) to breed up their scholars to a trade as well as to the know-

^r Acts xxii.

ledge of their law; both that they might know the better how to spend their empty hours honestly, and be able to get their living should necessity overtake them. Now let these bold men shew under what Gamaliel they were bred, and how they profited under him, or that they have St. Paul's revelation as well as his trade, and then I will say more to them. But this Lord is very full in this theme, and falls upon another argument.

“ In this respect (saith he) our Saviour
“ hath expressly prohibited it, telling
“ his Apostles that they should not
“ lord it over their brethren, nor ex-
“ ercise jurisdiction over them, as was
“ used in civil governments among
“ the heathen. They were called
“ gracious lords, and exercised juris-
“ diction, as lords, over others; and
“ sure they might lawfully do so.
“ But to the Ministers of the Gospel
“ our Saviour gives this rule, It shall
“ not be so done to you; if you strive

“ for greatness, he shall be greatest
“ that is the greatest servant to the
“ rest. Therefore in another place
“ he saith, ‘ He that putteth his hand
“ to the plough, and looketh back to
“ the things of this world, is not fit
“ for the Kingdom of God;’ that is,
“ the preaching of the Gospel, as it is
“ usually called.”

This argument will be somewhat indeed, if it proves such as this Lord says it is. For he says that our Saviour hath expressly prohibited it: and if it be so, there is an end of the controversy. No question but it is utterly unlawful, if our Saviour prohibited it. But where is it that he hath done so? Where? Why it is where he tells his Apostles, that they should not ‘ lord it over their brethren.’ Not lord it over their brethren? that is true. Nor exercise jurisdiction over them? that is false, if the proposition be general; for then there can be no order, no government, among Churchmen. And if it be particular, no such jurisdiction as

was used in civil government among the heathen, then it is fit to weigh this place through and throughout. Well then! The mother of Zebedee's children desired of Christ for her two sons, that 'the one might sit at His right hand, and the other at His left hand in His Kingdom *.' Where first it appears plainly, that this was not only a piece of feminine ambition, for her sons made the suit as well as she; so St. Mark, x. 35. tells us; and they came with her when she made it; so St. Matthew, xx. 20. And little doubt need be made but that they set their mother on to move it, as may appear partly by our Saviour, who says nothing to the mother, but first puts a question to the sons, which they answer, and then gives His answer to them^t, which (I conceive) He would not have done, had not they been in the business: and partly, because the other ten disdained^u at the two brethren for this^x. Secondly, if it were here

^s Mat. xx. 21.

^t Ver. 22, 23.

^u Or were moved with indignation, ἡγαπάνησαν.

^x Ver. 24.

meant by them, to sit at His right hand and at His left in His Kingdom in Heaven, as may be thought not altogether improbable by the question Christ puts to them about His Baptism and His Cup, both preparatory to that Kingdom. And if it be so, (and so some think it is,) then this text is applied by this Lord to no purpose, if it meddles nothing with temporal offices and employments, but relates to the Kingdom of Heaven. But if they meant by this sitting at His right hand and at His left, the honourable places about Him in His earthly kingdom, which the Apostles sometimes fancied He should here have, as some think, because of the other part of Christ's answer, that 'the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, but it shall not be so amongst you^y;' then the answer is clear, that Christ did not here forbid them the taking of such places upon them simply, but He forbids either an absolute independent power; for so *κατακυριεύειν* signifies, which takes not away superiority over others, so they be subject to the Prince and State. Or

else the using of such places after the lordly and tyrannous manner of some heathens. And the Geneva Divines in their notes upon the Bible tell us, that the meaning of Christ's answer to them in these words, 'to sit at My right hand and at My left is not Mine to give^z,' is, that God the Father had not given Him charge to bestow offices of honour here, but to be an example of humility to all. So Christ came not then to give such places; but here is no prohibition for the Apostles to take them at their hands who would give them for the good of the Church. And howsoever, if this place must be understood of temporal honours and employments, then it follows, that though these two Apostles had not those seats, some other of them should. For Christ says plainly, that the sitting at His right hand and at His left 'shall be given to them for whom it is prepared by His Father.' So then it shall be given to some, and doubtless to some of the Apostles: strangers should not be preferred before them. And it is all one to our present business, which

^z Annot. in Mat. xx. 23.

of the Apostles sat there, so some did, or were to do ; and rather than yield this, his Lordship perhaps were better grant, that this is to be understood of another kingdom, and that this text meddles with no temporal either offices or employments, but that by occasion of this our Saviour preaches humility to them, yet so as still to keep up authority and government in the Church, to which he applies it.

And for that other parallel place, ‘ be ye not called Rabbi^a,’ that cannot prejudice all jurisdiction in men in Holy Orders; as if to meddle with it were forbidden by Christ, or, as if it were Antichristian, as now it is made; since it is plain that Christ there forbids neither the title, nor the preeminence, nor the authority, but the vain-glorious affectation of it^b, and that is a sin indeed, no man doubts. And it may be observed too, if this Lord pleases, that this precept was given to the people too, as well as to the Disciples^c, and then, for ought I know, this truth will come in as strongly to pull down

^a Mat. xxiii. 8.^b Ver. 5, 6.^c Ver. 1.

temporal Lords, as Bishops; and what will his Lordship say to that?

As for that which is added by this Lord, If ye strive for greatness, he shall be greatest who is the greatest servant to the rest: though the words differ somewhat from the text, yet my Lord must be content to hear, that there is a twofold greatness; the one in God's account, and that is greatness indeed: and so our Saviour means it here, that he is greatest who is the greatest servant to the rest, (if this Lord will needs read it so:) the other is in man's account, when one man hath power and superiority over another; and which was that which the Apostles affected. In which case, though our Saviour's precept be, 'Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your servant;' that is, the more serviceable to you and the Church, the greater heirs; yet these words ('it shall not be so with you') do not deny this authority or greatness which one may have over another in the Church of Christ for the necessary government thereof, though they neither do nor may domineer over their brethren. And

therefore where St. Matthew^d reads it, he that will be, μέγας, great; and, πρῶτος, first among you; there St. Luke^e hath it, ὁ μείων, greater; and, ὁ ἡγούμενος^f, chief or leader. Nor doth he say so as St. Matthew does, he that would be so, but, he that is; which argues clearly, that even in our Saviour's own account and institution too, there was then, and should be after His ascension, greater and less, such as were to lead, and such as were to be led. No parity, and yet no barbarous lording; but orderly and Christian governing in the Church. And this must needs be so, or else Christ left his Church in a worse condition, than this Lord acknowledges the civil governments were among the heathen, which he says might lawfully govern so. For I hope he will not say that even the heathen might tyrannize.

If this be not sufficient, this Lord puts us in mind that our Saviour says in another place,

^d Mat. xx. 26, 27.

^e Luke xxii. 26.

^f And St. Paul uses it for a Bishop or Governor, Heb. xiii. 1.

that ‘ he which lays his hand to the plough, and looks back to the things of this world, is not fit for the Kingdom of God ;’ that is, the preaching of the Gospel, as it is usually called^g. Where, first, it may be doubted whether this laying of the hand to the plough belong to the Ministers of the Gospel only, or to others also. For if it belongs to others as well as to them, (though perhaps not so much,) then no Christian, though he be not a Minister, may have to do with worldly affairs ; and then we shall have a devout wise world quickly. Secondly, it may be doubted too whether this looking back be any kind of meddling at all with worldly affairs, or such a meddling as shall so entangle the husbandman, that his plough stands still, or so bewitches him, that he forsakes his plough, that is, his calling, altogether. If it be no meddling at all, no man can live ; if it be no meddling, but that which entangles, then any Minister may meddle with worldly affairs, so far and so long as he entangles not himself with them : and so far as to entangle himself, no Christian

^g Luke ix. 62.

may meddle, that will live godly in Christ Jesus.

If this be not sufficient, this Lord will prove it ere he hath done, for he goes on.

“ To be thus withdrawn, by entangling
“ themselves with the affairs of this
“ life, by the necessity and duty of
“ an office received from men, from
“ the discharge of that office which
“ God hath called them to, brings a
“ woe upon them. ‘ Woe unto me
“ (saith the Apostle) if I preach not
“ the Gospel.’ What doth he mean ?
“ If I preach not once a quarter, or
“ once a year, in the King’s Chapel ?
“ No. He himself interprets it,
“ ‘ Preach the word, be instant in sea-
“ son and out of season ; rebuke,
“ exhort, or instruct, with all long-
“ suffering and doctrine.’ He that
“ hath an office must attend on his
“ office, especially this of the Min-
“ istry.”

I see my Lord will not mend his terms, though they mar the sense, and mislay the question. For no man says that which this Lord so often repeats; namely, that a Bishop or any other Clergyman may entangle himself with the affairs of this life (which yet may be with covetousness and voluptuous living, as much or more than with being called to counsel in civil affairs) by any office received from man, from the discharge of that office, which God hath called them unto. No! God forbid! this would bring a woe upon them indeed. But since no man says it, this Lord fights here with his own shadow. For all that is said is this, that a Bishop being grown old and full of experience, if the King, or the State in which he lives, thinks him, for his wisdom, experience, and fidelity, fit to be employed in civil councils or affairs, be it with an office or without, the Bishop may lawfully undertake this, so he be able to discharge it without deserting the office which God and His Church have laid upon him. But if he takes it, and be not able to discharge both; or being able, doth loiter and

not discharge them; either of these is *vitium hominis*, the fault of the person, but the thing is lawful.

As for the place of Scripture which his Lordship adds, I doubt his Lordship understands it not as the Apostle means it; for it is a text very much abused by ignorant zeal. For when he saith, ‘Woe unto me if I preach not the Gospel^h,’ what doth he mean? if he preach not once a quarter? No sure, that is too seldom. What then? if he preach not once a year in the King’s Chapel? No sure, much less. For in those days there was no King in Corinth, nor any where else, that was Christian, to have a Chapel to preach in. So this Lord might have let this scorn alone, had it so pleased him. No; nor is it if a man prate not three or four times a week in one of his Lordship’s independent congregations, and then call it preaching: the Apostle knew no such schismatical conventicles. No sure, none of this. Why but what is this preaching then, the neglect whereof draws this woe after it? This he tells

^h 1 Cor. ix. 16.

you St. Paul interprets himself¹; it is to ‘preach the word.’ It is indeed, and neither schism nor sedition, which are the common themes of these times. It is to be instant in preaching the word, as God gives ability and opportunity; it is to be ‘instant in season and out of season;’ that is, to take God’s opportunity rather than our own, and not preach out of season only, as some of this Lord’s great favourites use to do; it is to rebuke, exhort, and instruct with knowledge and gravity, and not spend hours in idle and empty discourses. And all this is to be done ‘with all long-suffering and doctrine;’ and let the Clergy but study hard, and provide that their doctrine be sound and good, and I will pass my word this Lord and his friends shall take order they shall do it with all the long-suffering that may be; and if they do not suffer enough, or not long enough, it shall not be his fault, so dearly doth he love that they should preach the word.

Nay, I must go farther yet. To preach the word in this manner, is not only to go up into

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 2.

the pulpit, and thence deliver wholesome and pious instructions, and necessary and Christian reproof, though this be, as the commendable, so the ordinary, way of public preaching, that most at once may hear. For he may be said to preach the Gospel, that any ways declares Christ crucified, and informs the understandings and consciences of men, for right belief and true obedience, be it privately or publicly; be it by word of mouth or by writing: and a man may be seasonably instant this way sometimes, when in the public way of preaching he cannot. And if this be not so, how is it said of the Apostles^k, that ‘in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus Christ.’ ‘I have taught you publicly, and from house to house^l.’ And I believe some Bishops, whom this Lord in this passage is pleased to jeer at, have preached more and to more purpose, than any of his Lordship’s divinity-darlings. That which follows is true, that he which hath an office, ‘must wait upon his office^m,’ and espe-

^k Acts v. 42.^l Acts xx. 20.^m Rom. xii. 7.

cially this of the Ministry ; of which office there the Apostle principally treats. But this again no man denies. And yet by his Lordship's good leave, no man is bound to starve by waiting upon his office. He must wait upon it, that is true ; but he must provide necessaries too, that he may be able to wait. Next this Lord tells us,

“ The practice of the Apostles is answer-
“ able to the direction and doctrine of
“ our Saviour. There never was, nor
“ will be, men of so great abilities and
“ gifts as they were endued withal,
“ yet they thought it so inconsistent
“ with their calling, to take places of
“ judicature in civil matters, and secu-
“ lar affairs and employments upon
“ them, that they would not admit of
“ the care and distraction that a busi-
“ ness far more agreeable to their
“ callings than these would cast upon
“ them, and they give the reason of
“ it in Acts vi. 2. ‘ It is not reason

“ that we should leave the word of
“ God, and serve tables.’ ”

There is no doubt but that the practice of the Apostles was answerable to the direction and doctrine of our Saviour. And as certainly true it is, that there never were, nor ever will be, men of so great abilities and gifts, in supernatural and heavenly things especially, as they were endued withal. But how will this Lord prove, that they thought it a thing absolutely inconsistent with their callings to meddle with temporal or civil affairs ? No one of them hath in any place of Scripture expressed so much. Against entangling themselves with the world and the affairs of it, I confess they have, but no more. Yet this Lord proves it thus : they would not admit of the care and distraction, that a business far more agreeable to their calling than these would cast upon them. His Lordship means the Deacon's office : and therefore surely they would not take these. But this argument by his Lordship's leave is insequent. For if any offices or employments, how agreeable

soever to their calling, bring with them such care and distraction as shall in a manner quite take them off from preaching the Gospel, the Apostles did not, and their successors may not, trouble themselves with them : when as yet the Apostles might, and their successors may, take on them other employments, though in their nature less agreeable to their calling, if they be less distractive from it. Now the Deacon's office (as it was then) brought more trouble upon them for the poor and the widows, than any places of judicature or council do upon Clergymen now. Which may appear by the very reason they have given, and here remembered, that it was no reason ' they should leave the word of God and serve tables.' For there it is not said, that they might not at all meddle with the ordering of those tables, but that it was not fit they should so meddle with them as *καταλείψαντας*,—leaving the word of God to attend them. And this to do no man says is lawful now. But his Lordship presses this argument yet farther.

“ And again, when they had appointed
“ them to choose men fit for that
“ business, they institute an office
“ rather for taking care of the poor,
“ than they by it would be distracted
“ from the principal work of their
“ calling, and then shew how they
“ ought to apply themselves: but we
“ (say they) will give ourselves con-
“ tinually unto prayer, and to the
“ ministry of the word. Did the
“ Apostles, men of extraordinary gifts,
“ think it unreasonable for them to be
“ hindered from giving themselves
“ continually to preaching the word
“ and prayer, by taking care for the
“ tables of poor widows; and can
“ Bishops now think it reasonable or
“ lawful for them to contend for sit-
“ ting at council-tables, to govern
“ states, to turn statesmen instead
“ of Churchmen, to sit in the high-
“ est courts of judicature, and to
“ be employed in making laws

“ for civil polities and govern-
“ ment ? ”

It is true indeed that the Apostles appointed the Disciples to choose men fit for that business, and that they did institute the office of Deacons to take care of the poor, rather than they would be distracted from the principal work of their calling. But when was this done ? When ? Why not till the Disciples were multiplied ; not till there arose contentions between ‘ the Greeks and the Hebrews, that their widows were neglected in the daily ministration ⁿ. ’ Therefore till the work grew so heavy, and the contentions so warm, the Apostles themselves did order those tables, and attend them too. Therefore the work was not unlawful in itself for them, for then it had been sin in them to do it at all at any time. For that which is simply evil in and of itself, is ever so ; therefore the most that can be made of this example is, that it was lawful, very lawful, and charitable too, for the Apostles to take care of those tables

ⁿ Acts vi. 1.

themselves; and they did it. For all the provision for the poor was brought and 'laid at the Apostles' feet^o,' which doubtless would never have been done, had it been unlawful for the Apostles to order and to distribute it. But when they found the increasing burthen too heavy for both the one work and the other, then, though both were lawful, yet it was more expedient to leave the tables than the word of God, with which the world was then as little acquainted, as now it is full of; (and I pray God it be not full to a dangerous surfeit.) Now this, as I conceive in humility, states the Bishops' business: for to me it seems out of question, that it is most lawful for Bishops to be conversant in all the courts, councils, and places of judicature, to which they have been called since the reformation in the Church and State of England, till they find themselves, or be found unable to discharge the one duty and the other. And then indeed I grant no serving of tables, no nor council-tables, is to be preferred. But then you must not measure preach-

^o Acts iv. 35.

ing only by a formal going up into the pulpit : for a Bishop (and such occasions are often offered) may preach the Gospel more publicly, and to far greater edification, in a court of judicature, or at a council-table, where great men are met together to draw things to an issue, than many preachers in their several charges can; and therefore to far more advancement of the Gospel, than any one of Lordship's sect at a table's end in his Lordship's parlour, or in a pulpit in his Independent congregation, wheresoever it be. And when he hath said all that he can, or any man else, this shall be found true, that there is not the like necessity of preaching the Gospel lying upon every man in Holy Orders, now Christianity is spread and hath taken root, as lay upon the Apostles and Apostolical men, when Christ and his religion were strangers to the whole world. And yet I speak not this to cast a damp or chillness upon any man's zeal or diligence in that work: no, God forbid! For, though I conceive there is not the same necessity, yet a great necessity there is still, and ever will be, to hold up both the verity

and devotion which attend religion; and, *Non minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri.* So there may be as great virtue in the action, though perhaps not equal necessity of it.

Besides, Deacons were not laymen, but men in Holy Orders, though inferior to the Apostles; as appears by Stephen's undertaking the Libertines and Cyrenians in the cause of Christ; and Philip's preaching of Christ in Samaria, and baptizing^p. And if they were of the Seventy, (as Epiphanius thinks they were^q,) then they were Presbyters before they had this temporary office (if such it were) put upon them. Therefore, if to meddle with these things were simply unlawful in themselves, or for men in Holy Orders; or, if all meddling with them were such a distraction, as must needs make them leave the preaching of the Gospel; then these Seventy might not discharge the office to which they were chosen; and if this be so, then this Lord must needs infer that the Apostles, and all which chose them, did sin in instituting such men to take care of the

^p Acts vi. 6, 9. viii. 5, 38.

^q Hær.

tables, and to distract them from preaching of the word; which they thought unfit for themselves to do. And yet, I hope, my Lord will not say this in his privatest conventicle. Nay, yet more; though this care was delivered over to the Deacons in ordinary, yet Calvin tells us plainly^r, that in things of moment they could do nothing—*Nec quicquam*—without the authority of the Presbyters. So they meddled still.

Next this Lord shews, since the Apostles did not think fit to distract themselves with business about these tables, how they ought to apply themselves. And this he sets down in the Apostle's words^s. 'But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and the Ministry of the word.' And yet I hope this Lord doth not think the Apostles, by this word continually, meant to do nothing else but pray and preach: for if they did one of these two continually without any intermission, then they could do nothing else, which is most apparently false. And indeed (which it seems this learned Lord

^r Calvin in Acts xxi.

^s Acts vi. 4.

considered not) this word continually is not in the text. For in the Greek the word is *προσκαρτερήσομεν*, we will be constant and instant in prayer and ministration of the word; which may and ought to be done, though neither of them continually; and which many of God's servants have done, and yet meddled some way or other with temporal or worldly affairs.

The argument is over: the rest of this passage is this Lord's rhetoric, which I shall answer as I repeat it. Did the Apostles, (saith his Lordship,) men of extraordinary gifts, think it unreasonable for them to be hindered from giving themselves continually to preaching the word and prayer, by taking care of the tables of the poor widows? No; sure they did not think it unreasonable; that is this Lord's word to make the present business of the Bishops more odious, as if it were against common reason. But there is no such word in the text. The word is, *οὐκ ἄριστόν*, 'it is not meet.' Now many things may not be meet or comely, which yet are not altogether unreasonable: nay, which at some times, and upon some occasions, may be meet and

comely enough; nay, perhaps necessary for the very Gospel itself, and therefore no way unreasonable; howsoever at this time unfit for the Apostles, and worthily refused by them.

Well; the rhetoric goes on. Did the Apostles thus, and can the Bishops now think it reasonable or lawful for them? Yes, the times and circumstances being varied, and many things become fit which in some former times were not, they can think it both reasonable and lawful, nay, necessary for some of them. What? To contend for sitting at council-tables? No; God forbid! perhaps not to sue for sitting there, but certainly not to contend for it; but to sit there being called unto it, and to give their best advice there, never unlawful, and oft-times necessary. And here let me tell this Lord by the way, that the Bishop which he hath sufficiently hated, was so far from contending for this, that though he had that honour given him by his Majesty to sit there many years, yet I do here take it upon my Christianity and truth, that he did never move his Majesty directly or indirectly for that honour, and was surprised

with it as altogether unlooked for, when his Majesty's resolution therein was made known unto him. Nor ever did that Bishop take so much upon him as a Justiceship of the Peace, or meddle with any lay-employment, save what the laws and customs of this realm laid upon him in the High Commission and the Star Chamber, while those courts were in being; and continued preaching till he was threescore and four, and then was taken off by writing of his book against Fisher the Jesuit, being then not able at those years to continue both. And soon after the world knows what trouble befel him, and in time they will know why too, I hope. Besides, the care of government, which is another part of a Bishop's office, and a necessary one too, lay heavy upon him, in these factious and broken times especially. And whatsoever this Lord thinks of it, certainly, though preaching may be more necessary for the first planting of a Church, yet government is more noble and necessary too, where a Church is planted; as being that which must keep preaching and all things else in order.

And preaching (as it is now used) hath as much need to be kept in order as any, even the greatest extravagance that I know. Nor is this out of Christ's commission, *pasce oves*^t, for the feeding of his sheep. For a shepherd must guide, govern, and defend his sheep in the pasture, as well as drive them to it. And he must see that their pasture be not tainted too, or else they will not thrive upon it. And then he may be answerable for the rot that falls among them.

The rhetoric goes farther yet. To contend for sitting at council-tables to govern States. No, but yet to assist them, being called by them. To have Statesmen instead of Churchmen. No, but doing the duty of Churchmen, to mingle pious counsels with Statesmen's wisdom. To sit in the highest courts of judicature. And why not, in a kingdom where the laws and customs require it? Not to be employed in making laws for civil polities and government. And I conceive there is great reason for this in the kingdom of England, and

^t John xxi. 15.

greater since the Reformation than before. Great reason, because the Bishops of England have been accounted, and truly been, grave and experienced men, and far fitter to have votes in Parliaments for the making of laws, than many young youths which are in either House: and because it is most fit in the making of laws for a kingdom, that some Divines should have vote and interest to see (as much as in them lies) that no law pass, which may perhaps, though unseen to others, intrench upon Religion itself, or the Church. And I make no doubt but that these and the like considerations settled it so in England, where Bishops have had their votes in Parliaments, and in making laws, ever since there were Parliaments; yea, or any thing that resembled them in this kingdom. And for my part, were I able to give no reason at all why Bishops should have votes in Parliament, yet I should in all humility think that there was, and is still, some great reason for it, since the wisdom of the State hath successively in so many ages thought it fit. And as there is great reason they should have votes in making

laws, so is there greater reason for it since the Reformation than before. For before that time Clergymen were governed by the Church Canons and Constitutions, and the common laws of England had but little power over them. Then in the year 1532, the Clergy submitted; and an Act of Parliament was made upon it: so that ever since the Clergy of England, from the highest to the lowest, are as much subject to the temporal laws as any other men, and therefore ought to have as free a vote and consent to the laws which bind them, as other subjects have. Yet so it is, that all Clergymen are and have long since been excluded from being Members of the House of Commons, and now the Bishops and their votes, by this last Act, are cast out of the Lords' House. By which it is at this day come to pass, that by the justice of England, as now it stands, no Clergyman hath a consent, by himself or his proxy, to those laws to which all of them are bound.

In the mean time, before I pass from this point, this Lord must give me leave to put him

in mind of that which was openly spoken in both Houses; that the reason why there was such a clamour against the Bishops' votes was, because all or most of them voted for the King, so that the potent faction could not carry what they pleased, especially in the Upper House. And when some saw they could not have their will to cast out their votes fairly, the rabble must come down again, and clamour against their votes; not without danger to some of their persons. And come they did in multitudes. But who procured their coming I know not, unless it were this Lord and his followers. And notwithstanding this is as clear as the sun, and was openly spoken in the House, that this was the true cause only why they were so angry with the Bishops' votes; yet this most godly and religious Lord pretends here a far better cause than this: namely, that they may, as they ought, carefully attend to the preaching of the word, and not be distracted from that great work, by being troubled with these worldly affairs. And I make no doubt, but that the same zeal will carry the same men to the de-

vout taking away the Bishops and the Churchlands, and perhaps the Parsons' tithes too, and put them to such stipends as they shall think fit, that so they may preach the Gospel freely, and not be drawn away with these worldly affairs from the principal work of that function. Well ! my Lord must give me leave here to prophesy a little : and it is but this in short ; Either the Bishops shall in few years recover of this hoarseness, and have their honour and their votes in Parliament again ; or, before many years be past, all baseness, barbarity, and confusion, will go near to possess both this Church and Kingdom.

But this Lord hath yet somewhat more to say ; namely, that

“ If they shall be thought fit to sit in such
“ places, and will undertake such em-
“ ployments, they must not be there
“ as ignorant men, but must be know-
“ ing in business of State ; and under-
“ stand the rules and laws of govern-
“ ment, and thereby both their time

“ and studies must be necessarily
“ diverted from that which God hath
“ called them unto. And this surely
“ is much more unlawful for them to
“ admit of, than that which the
“ Apostles rejected as a distraction
“ unreasonable for them to be inter-
“ rupted by.

Why but yet if they shall be thought fit to sit in such places, and will undertake such employments, what then? Why then they must not sit there as ignorant men, but they must be knowing men, and understand the rules and laws of government. This is most true; and if any man sit in those places as an ignorant, it is an ill choice that is made of him, and he doth not well that accepts them. But sure, if Bishops sit there as ignorants, they are much to be blamed. For if they spend their younger studies before they meddle with divinity, as they may and ought, sure there is some great defect in them, if they be not as knowing men in the rules of government as most Noblemen

or others are, who spend all their younger time in hawking and hunting, and somewhat else: and this younger time of theirs, if Bishops have spent as they ought, they may with a little care and observation, and without any great diversion of their time and studies from that which God hath called them unto, perform those places with great knowledge and much happiness to the states in which they serve, as hath formerly in this, and doth at present in other neighbouring states appear. And for ought this Lord knows, if some counsels had been followed, which some Bishops gave, neither the King, nor the State, nor the Church, had been in that ill condition in which they now are. Nor are these places more unlawful for Bishops to admit of in these times and conditions of the Church, than that which the Apostles rejected as a distraction, but not as an unreasonable one, in those times and beginnings of Christianity, as is proved before. But the zeal of this Lord burns still, and as it hath fired him already out of the Church, and made him a Separatist; so it would now fire the Bishops out of the State,

and make them members of Antichrist. His Lordship goes on therefore, and as before he told us the practice of the Apostles was answerable to the doctrine of Christ, so here he tells us again;

“ The doctrine of the Apostles is agreeable
“ to their practice herein. For St.
“ Paul, when he instructs Timothy
“ for the work of the Ministry,
“ presseth this argument from the
“ example of a good soldier: ‘ no
“ man that warreth entangleth him-
“ self with the affairs of the world.’ ”

The doctrine of the Apostles is agreeable indeed to their practice herein, and in all things else; and I would to God with all my heart this Lord's opinions were agreeable to either their practice or their doctrine; and then, I am sure, he would be a better soldier for Christ, than this poor Church hath cause to believe he is. But his Lordship says that Paul, when he instructs Timothy for the work of the Ministry,

presseth this argument from the example of a good soldier; that 'no man that warreth, ἐμπλέκεται, entangles himself with the affairs of the world^u.' The word ἐμπλέκω signifies *involvere et permiscere se*, to involve, and, as it were, throughly to mingle himself with that which he undertakes; to be so busied, *ut extricare se non possit*, that he cannot untwist himself out of the employment: and I easily grant that no good Christian, much less any good Bishop, may so entangle himself with the world, as either to desert his calling, or to be so distracted from it, as not to do his duty in it^x. But this bars not all meddling with it. For the Geneva note upon that place says plainly, he may not entangle himself; no, not so much as with his household and other ordinary affairs. But then if he shall not meddle with, or take care of, these at all, he may beg or starve, unless he have better means than the competency which this devout age thinks sufficient for the Ministry. Nay, which is more, he may by so doing fall under that heavy sentence of the

^u 2 Tim. ii. 4.^x Annot. *ibid*.

Apostles', 'That if he provide not for his own, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than are infidels.' Nay, which is yet more, if all meddling with temporal affairs, all care of the world, be an entanglement, the Clergy must needs be in a perplexity whatsoever they do. For if they meddle with any worldly business, and entangle themselves, they do that they ought not¹. And if they do not meddle with worldly affairs, and so do not provide for their own; and provide they cannot without some meddling. Then, for fear of this Lord's sour divinity, that all meddling with is entangling in them, they are worse than infidels. Now a perplexity which shall wrap a man up in sin which way soever he sets himself to action, is so contrary to Divine justice, as that no law or Scripture of God can command it, nor any right reason of man approve it.

But examining this text farther, I find two things more observable. The one, that the soldier here, whose example is the ground of this argument, is not bound under pain of any

¹ 1 Tim. v. 8.

² 2 Tim. ii. 4.

sin, not to busy himself with the affairs of this life : but he doth it not (saith the text), to the end he may please Him whose soldier he is. So then, if any man, the better to please God, forbears this employment, and his conscience and love to his calling be his motives so to do, he does well. But if another man, who hath no scruple in himself, and finds he can do both without an entanglement by the one to the prejudice of the other, and thereupon be so employed (for ought I know), he doth not sin. The other is, perhaps this Lord may find that St. Paul here in this place instructs Timothy, not so much for the work of the Ministry, (as here he affirms,) as for the general work of Christianity. For^a, he exhorts to constancy and perseverance, that he be strong in the grace which is in Jesus Christ. And then this argument falls upon other Christians as well as upon Ministers, though not so much. And then I hope this Lord, who is so careful for our spiritual warfare, will take some care of his own also ; if the great care which he takes at this

^a Ver. 1.

present for the militia of the kingdom entangles him not. But his Lordship is now come to conclude this point.

“ I conclude; that which by the com-
“ mandment of our Saviour, by the
“ practice and doctrine of the Apostles,
“ and I may add by the Canons of
“ ancient Councils grounded there-
“ upon, is prohibited to Ministers of
“ the Gospel, and shewed to be such
“ a distraction unto them from their
“ calling and function, as will bring a
“ woe upon them, and is not reason-
“ able for them to admit of; if they
“ shall notwithstanding entangle them-
“ selves withal, and enter into, it will
“ bring a guilt upon their souls, and
“ hurt them in respect of their con-
“ sciences.”

His Lordship is now come (so he tells us) to conclude this point; and in this conclusion he artificially sums up, and briefly, all his argu-

ments. I shall as briefly touch at my answers before given, and stay upon nothing, unless I find somewhat new. This done, I shall wait upon him (for that is his desire Clergymen should) to the next point.

And truly, I find nothing new in the folding up this conclusion, but that he says, he may add that Ministers are prohibited from meddling with worldly affairs, by the Canons of ancient Councils grounded upon the Apostles' doctrine. The Church is much beholden to this Lord that he will vouchsafe to name her ancient Councils: he doth not use to commit this fault often, and yet lest he should sin too much in this kind, he doth but tell you that he may add these, but he adds them not. It may be he doubts, that if he should name those Canons, some sufficient answer might be given them, and yet the truth remain firm, that it is not only lawful, but fit and expedient in some times and cases, for Bishops to intermeddle with, and give counsel in, temporal affairs; and though this Lord names none, yet I will produce and examine such Canons and ancient Coun-

cils as I find, and see what they say in this business.

The first I meet withal is—but here I find myself met with and prevented too, by a book entitled, *Episcopacy asserted*^b, made by a Chaplain of mine, Mr. Jer. Taylor, who hath learnedly looked into and answered such Canons of Councils as are most quick upon Bishops or other Clergymen for meddling much in temporal affairs. And therefore thither I refer the reader, being not willing to trouble him with saying over another man's lesson; only I shall examine such Councils (if any I find) which my Chaplain hath not met with or omitted. And the last that I meet with is the Council of Sardis^c; which though the last, is as high up in the Church as about the year 347. And there was a Canon to restrain Prelates from their frequent resorts to the Court: yet there are many cases left at large in which they are permitted to use their own judgment and freedom. So that

^b *Episcopacy Asserted*, §. 49.

^c Conc. Sardicens. edit. Lat. apud Bion. tom. i. par. i. p. 431.

Canon seems to bring along with it rather counsel than command. And howsoever they are well left to their liberty, (as I conceive it,) because to frequent the Court, as over-loving the place, is one thing; and to go thither, though often, when good cause calls for them, (be that cause spiritual or temporal,) is far from an offence. For if it be spiritual, they must go; that is their office and duty directly: and I see no reason why the physicians should be forbid to visit the places of greatest sickness. This I am sure of, Constantine the Great^d commanded the personal attendance of Bishops and other Clergymen in his Court. And if it be temporal, they may go: that is their duty by consequence, especially if they be called. For as their exemplary piety may move much, so do I not yet know any designs of State, which are made the worse by Religion; or any counsels of Princes hurt by being communicated with Bishops, in whom doth or should reside the care of Religion and religious conversation.

^d Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. i. c. 35.

But perchance I have known some counsels miscarry for want of this.

The next is the first Council at Carthage^d, and there the prohibition runs thus; They which are of the Clergy, *non accedant ad actus seu administrationem, vel procurationem domorum*; which forbids (as I conceive it) this only, that they should not be stewards of the houses, or bailiffs of the lands, of great persons. And this may be both in regard of the great trouble belonging to such places, and the hazard of scandal which might arise, in case there should happen any failure in such great accounts. And in the code^e of the African Councils it is thus read, *non sint conductores et procuratores, nec ullo turpi et inhonesto negotio, victum quærant*: which I think is the truer reading. And then this Council doth not forbid all meddling in secular affairs, but such as by their dishonest gain draw scandal upon the Church: and there is great reason such should be forbidden them.

A third I meet withal, and that is the Coun-

^d Conc. Carthag. 1. Can. vi.

^e Cod. Can. Eccl. Afric. Can. xvi.

cil of Eliberis ^f, about the year of our Lord 306, where the Canon seems to be very strict against Clergymen's going to markets and fairs, *negotianti causa*, to make profit by negotiation; but require them to send their son, their friend, or their servant, to do such business for them. And yet this prohibition, as strict as it seems, is not absolute, nor binding, farther than that they shall not pursue those matters of gain out of their own provinces; but if they will and think fit, they might for all this Canon negotiate, either for their necessary maintenance or improvement of their fortunes, so that they wandered not abroad out of their own province where they serve.

In the mean time when all these or any other Councils are duly weighed, and their meaning right taken, this will be the result of

^f *Episcopi, Presbyteri et Diaconi de locis suis negotiandi causâ non discedant, nec circumeuntes provincias quæstuosas nundinas sectentur. Sane ad victum suum conquirendum, aut filium, aut libertum, aut mercenarium, aut amicum, aut quemlibet mittant: et si voluerint negotiari intra provinciam, negotientur. Conc. Eliberit. Can. xviii.*

all; that neither Bishop nor other Clergyman might or may, by the Canons of holy Church, ambitiously seek, or voluntarily of himself assume, any secular engagement. And as they might not ambitiously seek great temporal employments, so might they not undertake any low or base ones for sordid and covetous ends. Nor might they relinquish their own charge to spend their strength in the assistance of a foreign one. But though they might not seek or voluntarily assume secular employment^g, yet they might do any lawful thing imposed on them by their superiors. And so might the Bishop (who had no superior in his province) if the Prince required his service; or that he thought it necessary for the present state of the

^g Aut negotiis sæcularibus se immiscere præter pupillorum si forte leges imponant in excusabilem curam, aut civitatis Episcopus Ecclesiasticarum rerum sollicitudinem habere præcipiat, aut orphanorum et viduarum, eorum qui sine ullâ defensione sunt, ac personarum quæ maxime indigent Ecclesiastico adjutorio, et propter timorem Domini causa deponat. Conc. Chalced. Act. xv. Can. iii.

Church in which he lived: for if he might transmit^h his power to those of the inferior Clergy, no doubt but he might deal himself in such civil affairs, as are agreeable to the dignity of his place and calling: and generally the Bishop, or any other Clergyman, may and might by the ancient Canons of the Church be employed in any action of piety, though that action be attended with secular care and trouble. And this is without any strain at all collected out of that great and famous Council of Chalcedon, one of the four first General Councils, approved of highly throughout all Christendom, and with great reverence acknowledged in the laws of this Kingdom. And therefore after the Canon of that Council had laid it down in general terms, that neither Bishop, Clerk, nor Monk, should farm grounds, or *immiscere se*, mix himself as it were with such temporal affairs, it adds some exceptions of like nature to those by me expressed, especially the last of them. And some of these will expound the Canon of any Council which I have yet seen,

^h Balsamon. in Concil. Chalcedon. c. iii. p. 327.

that speaks most against Clergymen's embarking themselves in secular business. And therefore though this Lord would not, yet I have laid before you whatsoever is come to my knowledge out of the ancient Councils; where by this last-cited and great Council, his Lordship may see, that Bishops should meddle with and order some temporal affairs, as persons in that kind fitter to be trusted than other men of what rank or condition soever; and therefore excepts from its own general Canon the cases of orphans and widows, and the estates of such persons as most need Ecclesiastical help, or where any cause in the fear of God requires it. In which cases the widows and the fatherless have had much cause to bless God, when they have been referred to the conscience, trust, and care of Bishops. But this were in a manner to make them masters of the wards or guardians to them, which I know this Lord will not like by any means. It would come too near his office; and then he would cry out indeed, that this was a greater distraction of them from their function to which God had called them, than that of the

attending poor widows' tables was to the Apostles: and yet he sees what some Canons of ancient Councils have decreed in this case. Besides, we cannot have a better or a clearer evidence of the true meaning of the ancient Canons than from the practice of the ancient Fathers of the Church, who were strict and conscientious observers of the Canons, and yet (as is before proved) meddled in many, and some the greatest civil affairs, being employed as ambassadors from great Emperors and Kings: and Balsamonⁱ observes, that whensoever it shall please the Prince to call any Bishops to such employments, they neither are to be restrained by the aforesaid Canons, nor censured by them.

I conclude this point then, that Bishops are not prohibited to meddle with civil public affairs, either by Christ's command, or by the Apostle's either doctrine or practice, (though all their practice doth not give an absolute rule for all future obedience as their doctrine doth;) and

ⁱ Balsam. in Conc. Carthag. prima, Can. xvi. p. 328, 329.

I may add, not by Canons of ancient Councils (rightly understood), nor are all of them such distractions as will bring a woe upon Bishops or other Clergymen, though they meddle with them : I rather believe some things will be in a woeful case if they meddle not. And in some cases there is all the reason in the world they should be not only permitted, but some of them commanded, to meddle ; to the end that in all consultations, especially the greatest, in Parliament, and at Council-table, it might be their care to see that religion were kept upright in all ; and that nothing by practice or otherwise pass, *cum detrimento Religionis et Ecclesiæ*, with detriment to Religion or the Church, always provided that they do not so entangle themselves in any of these affairs, as shall much prejudice their function ; and this done, I know no guilt that this meddling can bring upon their souls, or hurt their consciences. But this Lord having (as he thinks) concluded the contrary, proceeds now to the next point, and says, that

“ In the next place, this meddling in temporal affairs doth blemish them, and
“ strike them in their credits; so far
“ from truth is that position which
“ they desire to possess the world
“ withal, that unless they may have
“ those outward trappings, or worldly
“ pomp, added to the Ministry, that
“ calling will grow into contempt, and
“ be despised.”

Good God! How pious this Lord is, and what a careful friend over the Church! First, he takes care the Bishops' consciences may not be hurt, and now he is as jealous over their credits. But I doubt he is jealous over them amiss: for he is of opinion, that meddling in civil affairs strikes them in their credit; and he thinks farther, that the position with which they would possess the world in this case is far from truth. Let us examine this position then, what it is, and what it works. The position is, (as this Lord reports it,) that unless they may have these outward trappings, or worldly pomp, added

to the Ministry, their calling will grow into contempt. First, there was never any age in any kingdom Christian, in which the Bishops were ridden with so much scorn and contempt as they are at this day in England; and this makes this Lord, though he be a very ordinary horseman for any good service, please himself with trappings. Secondly, for the worldly pomp which he means and expresses, the train of that hath been long since cut short enough in England; and he that will not look upon the Bishops with an evil eye, must needs acknowledge it. Well, but what then doth this position work? Why they may not have these trappings, there will follow contempt upon their calling; so he makes the Bishops say. Is this Lord of that opinion too? No sure; for he says,

- “ The truth is, these things cast contempt
- “ upon them in the eyes of men.
- “ They gain them cap and courtesy,
- “ but they have cast them out of the
- “ consciences of men; and the reason
- “ is this, every thing is esteemed as it

“ is eminent in its own proper excel-
“ lency ; the eye in seeing, not in
“ hearing ; the ear in hearing, not in
“ speaking. The one would be rather
“ monstrous than comely, the other is
“ ever acceptable, being proper. So
“ is it with them : their proper excel-
“ lency is spiritual, the denial of the
“ world, with the pomps, and prefer-
“ ments, and employments thereof.
“ This they should teach and practise.”

Well then, the question is, Whether the honour of Bishops and their employments in temporal affairs, as they are at this day moderated in the Church and State of England, bring contempt upon them and their calling, as this Lord says ; or help to keep off contempt, as he says the Bishops would possess the world. First, I am clear of opinion, that Solomon was almost as wise as this Lord thinks himself, and yet he says plainly^k, that though wisdom in itself be far better than folly, yet ‘ the poor man’s

^k Eccles. ix. 16.

wisdom is despised, and his words not heard.' And we see in daily experience, that a poor Minister's words are as much slighted in the pulpit, as a poor man's in the gate. And therefore these things which this Lord calls trappings, are many times very necessary to keep off that contempt and despite which the boisterous multitude, when their sins are re-proved, are apt to cast upon them. And whatsoever this Lord thinks, it is a great credit and support to the rest of the Clergy, and being well used, a great advantage to their calling, that the Bishops and other eminent men of the Clergy should have moderate plenty for means, and enjoy honour and external reputation; and though it be well known that the Church considered in abstract, in and by itself only, is not promoted nor advanced by such employments, yet, as she is considered in her peregrination and warfare, she gains by them great both strength and encouragement.

Secondly, that which this Lord adds, that those things gain the Bishops cap and courtesy, but have cast them out of the consciences of

men. It is well that these things gain them that. For the age is grown so churlish to that calling, that I believe they would have very little of either, were it not for these things; as will too soon appear, now this last Act of Parliament hath taken away their trappings. As for that which follows next, that these things have cast them out of the consciences of men, that is not so: for in other kingdoms that are Christian, and some reformed as well as other, they have more employment in civil affairs than with us, and yet are in high esteem in the consciences of men. But the truth is, schism and separation hath so torn men from Clergy and Church, from God and Christ and all, that they have not only cast Bishops, but Religion too, out of their consciences, and their consciences are thrown after, God knows whither.

Now for the reason which this Lord gives, he is quite wide in that also. For every thing is not esteemed as it is eminent in its own proper excellency, (as he says it is:) indeed it ought to be so, but so it is not. For in the place before cited, ‘Wisdom is better than

folly¹,’ and is most eminent in its own proper excellency, but is it always esteemed so? No sure; for ‘the poor man’s wisdom is despised.’ There, however, it ought to be esteemed for its proper excellency; yet if it be found in a poor subject, it is despised, and accounted as mean and vile as he is that hath it. And as for the illustration which his Lordship makes of this his proposition, it is merely fallacious. For arguments drawn from natural things, which ever work constantly the same way, to moral things, which depend upon voluntary and mutable agents, will seldom or never universally follow: and therefore though it be true, that the eye is esteemed for seeing, not hearing; and the ear for hearing, not speaking; and should it be otherwise it would be rather monstrous than comely. That is true, because they are agents determined *ad unum*, to that one operation, and cannot possibly do the other; but then, by his Lordship’s leave, so it is not with Bishops; for though their proper excellency be indeed spiritual, yet they may meddle with

¹ Eccles. ix. 16.

other things so long as they can observe the Apostle's rule ^m, and 'use this world as if they used it not;' that is, use it so long and so far as may help their service of God, and cast it off when it shall hinder them. But this Lord thinks all use of these things, and employments in them, to be unlawful for our calling. And therefore he adds,

“ That when they, contrary hereunto, seek
“ after a worldly excellency, like the
“ great men of the world; and to rule
“ and domineer as they do, contrary
“ to our Saviour's precept, *vos autem*
“ *non sic*, 'but it shall not be so
“ amongst you:' instead of honour
“ and esteem, they have brought upon
“ themselves, in the hearts of the
“ people, that contempt and odium
“ which they now lie under; and that
“ justly and necessarily, because the
“ world sees that they prefer a worldly
“ excellency, and run after it, and

^m 1 Cor. vii. 31.

“ contend for it, before their own ;
“ which being spiritual, is far more
“ excellent, and which being proper
“ to the Ministry, is that alone which
“ will put a value and esteem upon
“ them that are of that calling.”

All this which follows is but matter of amplification, to help aggravate the business, and to make Bishops so hateful to other men, as they are to himself. For I hope no Bishops of this Church do seek after worldly excellency contrary to their function ; at least I know none that do : and they are far from being like the great men of the world. As to ruling, it is proper enough to them, so far as authority is given ; but domineer they do not. This comes from this Lord's spleen, not from their practice : and by that time his Lordship hath sat a while longer in the State, men will find other manner of domineering from him, than they found from the Bishops. Nor do they, in their meddling with civil affairs in such sort as is now practised in England, go contrary to our Saviour's pre-

cept, *vos autem non sic*, 'it shall not be so amongst you,' as I have proved before.

Most true indeed it is, that the poor Bishops of this Church do now instead of honour and esteem lie under contempt and odium in the hearts of the people. Of some, not of all; no nor either of the greater or the better part, for all the noise that hath been raised against them; and this Lord is much deceived to say they have brought it upon themselves. For it is but part of the dirt which this Lord and his fellow Sectaries have most unchristian-like cast upon them: and this only to wrest their votes out of Parliament, that now they are gone, they may the better compass their ends against Church and State, which God preserve against their malice and hypocrisy. But this Lord says farther, that the Bishops have brought this contempt upon themselves justly and necessarily. Now God forbid that it should be either; and his Lordship proves it but by saying the same thing over again, namely, because the world sees that they prefer a worldly excellency, and run after it, and contend for it before their own.

And surely, if they do this, they are much to blame; but I believe the world sees it not, unless it be such of the world as look upon them with this Lord's eyes, and that when they are at the worst too. And I verily persuade myself, and I think upon very good grounds, that the present Bishops of this kingdom, all or the most of them, are as far from any just tax in this or any other kind, as they have been in any former times since the Reformation. It is true, that their own calling being spiritual, is far more excellent; and I shall the better believe it, when I see this Lord and the rest value it so. For I have told his Lordship already, that every thing which is more excellent in itself, is not always so esteemed by others: and though this excellency be never so proper, yet by his good leave, it is not that alone which will put a value and esteem upon them and their calling. There must be some outward helps to encourage, and countenance, and reward them too, or else flesh and blood are so dull, that little will be done. And suppose this religious Lord, and some few like himself, would

value and esteem them for their spiritual calling only, yet what are these to so many as would condemn them? And yet to speak the truth freely, I do not see this Lord, nor any of that feather, put a value upon that calling for the spiritual excellency only; for then all Ministers that do their duty should be valued and esteemed by them, the calling being alike spiritual, and alike excellent in all: whereas the world sees they neither care for nor countenance any Ministers, but such as separate with them from the Church of England, or are so near to it, as that they are ready to step into an Independent congregation, so soon as by the artifice of this Lord and others, it may be made ready to receive them. Now this Lord having thus belaboured these two points, that Bishops by meddling in civil affairs do hurt themselves in their consciences and in their credits; he proceeds to instruct us farther. And thus,

“ As these things hurt themselves in their
“ consciences and credits, so have
“ they, and if they be continued, still

“ will make them hurtful to others.
“ The reason is, because they break
“ out of their own orb, and move
“ irregularly. There is a curse upon
“ their leaving their own place.”

My Lord is now come to his second general part of his speech, and means to prove it if he can, that Bishops by any kind of meddling in civil affairs do not only hurt themselves in conscience and in credit, but also, if they continue in them, they will make them hurtful to others also. And that he may seem to say nothing without a reason, his Lordship tells us the reason of this is, because they break out of their own orb, and move irregularly. But I conceive this reason weak enough. For first (as is before proved) these stars (to follow my Lord in his metaphor) are not so fixed to their orb of preaching the Gospel, but that they may do other things also at other times, so this be not neglected. And therefore it will not follow that all their motions out of this orb are irregular. Secondly, when they do thus move,

they are not violently to break out of their orb, but to sit still till authority find cause to call any of them a little aside, to attend civil affairs, that they may proceed never the worse, and the Gospel the better. As for that curse which this Lord speaks of, which follows upon their leaving of their own place; I know of none, nor any leaving of their own place. This I am sure of, whatever this Lord says, that many extraordinary blessings and successes have come both upon this kingdom and other nations, by counsels given by Clergymen; and I pray God his counsels, such as they have been, do not bring dishonour, and a curse to boot, upon this Church and kingdom. But his Lordship goes on with his metaphor, and argues very strongly by similitudes; which hath but a similitude of argumentation.

“ The heavenly bodies, while they keep
“ within their own spheres, give light
“ and comfort to the world; but if
“ they should break out and fall from
“ their regular and proper motions,

“ they would set the world on fire.
“ So have these done. While they
“ kept themselves to the work of the
“ Ministry alone, and gave them-
“ selves to prayer and the Ministry
“ of the word, according to the ex-
“ ample of the Apostles, the world
“ received the greatest benefits from
“ them ; they were the light and life
“ thereof. But when their ambition
“ cast them down like stars from
“ heaven to earth, and they did grow
“ once to be advanced above their
“ brethren ; I do appeal to all who
“ have been versed in the ancient
“ Ecclesiastical history, or modern
“ histories, whether they have not
“ been the common incendiaries of
“ the Christian world ; never ceasing
“ from contention one with another
“ about the precedency of their sees
“ and Churches, excommunicating
“ one another, drawing princes to
“ be parties with them, and there-

“ by casting them into bloody
“ wars.”

This argument is grounded upon *si cælum ruat*, if heaven falls, we shall get store of larks. But heaven cannot fall, and so it is here. The heavenly bodies, while they keep within their own spheres, give light and comfort to the world ; but if they should break out, which is impossible, and fall from their regular motions, which cannot possibly be, they would set the world on fire ; or perhaps drown it again, (had not God promised the contrary,) according as the irregular motion bended. So have these done. Nay, not so, with this Lord's leave. For first, Clergymen are not so fixed to their orbs as those heavenly bodies are, but in themselves are free and voluntary agents, which those bodies are not. And secondly, they may and ought, as occasion is offered them, do many things in public civil affairs, which may much advantage the Gospel of Christ, and they will never fire the world by such attendance upon them ; and they may and ought give themselves

to prayer and to the Ministry of the word notwithstanding this: and they may be the same benefits to the world of light and life as before. Yea, and I make no doubt, but that when this Lord and his followers will be as liberal and devout as the primitive Christians were, who ‘sold their land, and brought the money, and laid it at the Apostles’ feetⁿ,’ to make a stock for their and the Church’s wants, the Bishops will be well content to follow the Apostles’ example, as far and as well as they can. But if the Bishops may meddle with no temporal affairs, according to the example of the Apostles; how came the Apostles to meddle with the receiving first, and after with the layings out of all this money? For, say it was to be employed on charitable actions, yet some diversion more or less it must needs be to the preaching of the Gospel. But since the example and practice of the Apostles is so often pressed by this Lord, I would willingly his Lordship should tell me, (if he will make their practice a rule general and binding,) why now

ⁿ Acts iv. 37.

among Christians all should not be common, as the Apostles and other believers had it; and that no man might say that ought of the things which he possessed was his own^o, and then where is the property of the subject? And then why do we not go up and down and preach at large, according to the examples of the Apostles, and endure neither division of parishes nor parish-churches? And why do we not receive the Communion after Supper, at it is well known Christ and his Apostles did? Indeed, if any Bishops or other Clergymen should become falling stars from heaven to earth; especially if their sin should be so like the devil's as to cast themselves down by their own ambition: that, as it makes the fall heavy to them, so yet I must say to this Lord, that both fall and fault is the person's; the Episcopal office is not the cause of it, as is here charged by him. Nor did they become falling stars so soon as they did once grow to be advanced above their brethren, as this Lord insinuates it. For among the Apostles themselves there was a

^o Acts iv. 32.

Chief in order^p, and some were advanced to dignity and power above their brethren, even in the Apostles' days; whom yet, I presume, this Lord will not be so ill advised as to call fallen stars.

As for the appeal which he makes to all them who have been versed in ancient or modern Ecclesiastical histories; that is no great matter. For in all histories you shall find great men of all sorts doing what in honour and duty should not be done; and ambition hath been the cause of very much of this, and ambition sticks so close to human nature, as that it follows it into all professions and estates of men: and I would to God Clergymen had been freer from this fault than histories testify they have. But this hath been but the fault of some; many reverend Bishops in all ages have been clear of it, and it is a personal corruption in whomsoever it is, and cannot justly be charged upon the calling, as this Lord lays it. Neither have the worst of them (some Popes of Rome excepted) been the common incendiaries of the

Christian world. But incendiaries is grown a great word of late with this Lord; and some of the poor Bishops of England have been made incendiaries too by him and his party. But might it please God to 'shew some token upon us for good, that they which hate us may see it, and be ashamed^a,' there would be a full discovery who have been the incendiaries indeed in these troubles of England; and then I make no question but it will appear, that this Lord flames as high and as dangerously as any man living. But 'behold, (saith God,) all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks, walk in the light of your own fire, and in the sparks which yourselves have kindled. This shall ye have of My hand, ye shall lie down in sorrow^r.'

Next I pray be pleased to consider, how unworthily, and fallaciously withal, this Lord manages this proof. For all this discourse tends to prove it unlawful for Bishops to intermeddle in secular affairs; that so to do is hurtful to themselves in conscience and in

^a Ps. lxxxvi. 17.

^r Is. l. 11.

credit, and to others also by this their irregular motion. And this he proves by their never ceasing from contention one with another, either about the precedency of their Sees or Churches. They have indeed some, and sometimes, contended too eagerly for their Sees and Churches; but neither all, nor any that I know with a never-ceasing, but the Bishop of Rome for his supremacy. And say this were so, yet these contentions were about their own proper places, not about civil affairs, which now should lie before his Lordship in proof; and therefore was no irregular motion of theirs in regard of the object, but only in regard of the manner. Nor were they out of their orb for this, though faulty enough. The like is to be said for that which follows, their excommunicating one another upon these quarrels. As for their drawing of Princes to be parties with them, thereby casting them into bloody wars; this hath seldom happened; and whenever it hath happened, some Church business or other hath unhappily set it on, not their meddling in temporal affairs. But whatever caused

it, the crime of such misleading of Princes is very odious, and as hateful to me as it can be to his Lordship. But the persons must bear their own faults, and not the calling; and, sure I am, this Lord would think me very wild, if I should charge the ancient Barons' wars in England upon his Lordship and the honourable Barons now living. But howsoever by this it is plain, that this Lord would not only have the Bishops turned out of all civil employments, but out of their ecclesiastical jurisdictions also: they must have no power nor superiority there neither; their Sees must be laid as level as parity can make them. For all these mischiefs came on (saith he) as soon as they were once advanced above their brethren.

And one thing more I shall take occasion to say. Here is great clamour made against the Bishops, and their meddling in civil affairs; but what if the Presbytery do as much or more? Do they sin too by breaking out of their orb, and neglecting the work of the Ministry? No, by no means: only the Bishops are faulty. For do you think that Calvin would have taken

on him the unpirage, and composing of so many civil causes as he did order between neighbours, if so great sin had accompanied it? for he dealt in civil causes, and had power to^s inflict civil punishments in his consistory. For he committed divers to prison for dancing, and those not mean ones neither; and he^t arbitrated divers causes; and in a great controversy between the Senate of Geneva, and a gentleman, he tells one Frumentius, who laboured for a reconciliation, that the Church of Geneva was not so destitute, but that^u *fratres mei* (saith he) *huic provinciæ subeundæ pares futuri essent*, some of his brethren might have been fit for that work. Belike he took it ill, that in such a business, though merely civil, he and his fellow-Ministers should be left out. And for matters in the Commonwealth he had so great power in the Senate, and with the people, that all things were carried as he pleased. And

^s Omnes in carcerem coniecti sunt, &c. Calvin. Epist. ad Farellum.

^t Calvin. Epist. ad Viretum, fol. 373. Edit. 1575.

^u Calvin. Epist. ad Farellum, fol. 384.

himself brags of it, that the Senate was his and the people his^x. And to increase his strength, and make it more formidable, he brought in fifty or more of the French his countrymen and friends, and by his solicitation made them free denizens of the city; ^y of which and the troubles thence arising he gave an account to Bullinger, Anno 1555.

Or can you think that Beza would have taken upon him so much secular employment, had he thought it unlawful so to do? For whereas in the form of the civil government of that city, out of the two hundred prime men there was a perpetual senate chosen of sixty, as Bodin^z tells us; my worthy predecessor^a Archbishop Bancroft assures me, Beza was one of these three-score. And yet what a crying sin is it grown in a Bishop to be honoured with a seat at the council-table? Besides this; when Geneva sent a solemn embassy to Henry IV. of France,

^x Senatum esse nostrum. Calvin. ad Farellum, fol. 72.
Populum esse nostrum. Calvin. ad Viretum, fol. 73.

^y Calvin. Epist. ad Viret. fol. 163.

^z Bodin, l. ii. de Repub. c. 6.

^a Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, c. 26.

about the razing of a fort which was built near their city by the Duke of Savoy, ^bBeza would needs go along to commend that spiritual cause unto the King; and how far he dealt, and laid grounds for others to deal in all such civil causes, as were but *in ordine ad spiritualia*, is manifest by himself^c. And I am sure *læsus proximus* may reach into the cognizance of almost all civil causes. Or can any man imagine that so religious a man as Mr. Dampport, the late Parson of St. Stephen's in Coleman Street, would have done the like to no small hindrance to Westminster Hall, had he thought that by this meddling he had hurt both his conscience and his credit, whereas (good man) he fled into New England to preserve both. Or, if Mr. Alexander Henderson would have come along with the Scottish army into England, and been a Commissioner (as he was) in that whole treaty, wherein many of their Acts of Parliament concerning the civil government of that kingdom were deliberated

^b Thuan. Hist. Anno 1600. c. 125.

^c Beza de Excommun. p. 47.

upon and confirmed; if he had thought his so doing inconsistent with his calling? Or that the Scots (being so religious as they then were, even to the taking up of arms against their King for religion) would have suffered him to take that place upon him, so contrary to the command of Christ, and the practice of the Apostles, if it had been so indeed? Or, would they have suffered their preachers, which then attended their Commissioners at London, not only to meddle with, but to preach so much temporal stuff as little belonged to the purity of the Gospel, had they been of this Lord's opinion? Surely, I cannot think it. But let the Bishops do but half so much, yea, though they be commanded to do that which these men assume to themselves; and it is a venture but it shall prove treason against the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and an endeavouring to bring in an arbitrary government. Well! I will tell you a tale. There is a Minister at this day in London, of great note among the faction, well esteemed by this Lord and others of this outcry against the Bishops' votes in Parlia-

ment, and their meddling in civil affairs; this man (I will spare his name) being pressed by a friend of his, how he came to be so eager against the Church, of which and her government he had ever heretofore been an upholder, and had subscribed unto it, made this answer; Thou art a fool; thou knowest not what it is to be the head of a party. This man is one of the great masters of the present reformation; and do you not think it far more inconsistent with his ministerial function to be in the head of a turbulent faction, (to say the least of them,) than for a Bishop to meddle in civil affairs? Yet such is the religion of our times. But it is no matter for all this; his Lordship hath yet more to say against the ambition of the Prelates. For,

“ Their ambition and intermeddling with
“ secular affairs and state business,
“ hath been the cause of shedding
“ more Christian blood than any
“ thing else in the Christian world ;

“ and this no man can deny that is
“ versed in history.”

This is the same over and over again; saving that the expression contains in it a vast untruth. For they that are versed in history must needs say it is a loud one, that Bishops meddling in temporal affairs hath been the cause of shedding more Christian blood, than any thing else in the Christian world. What a happiness hath this Lord, that his pale meagerness cannot blush at such thing as this! Yea, but he will prove it here at home in this kingdom. For, says he,

“ We need not go out of our own kingdom
“ for examples of their insolency and
“ cruelty. When they had a depend-
“ ency upon the Pope, and any foot-
“ ing thereby out of the land, there
“ were never any that carried them-
“ selves with so much scorn and
“ insolency towards the Princes of this
“ kingdom, as they have done. Two

“ of them the Bishop that last spake
“ hath named, but instances of many
“ more may be given, whereof there
“ would be no end.”

It is true indeed we need not go out of our own kingdom for examples of their insolency and cruelty. For in so many ages it is no wonder in any kingdom to find some bad examples, be it of insolency, cruelty, or what you will: especially in the midst of so much prosperity as accompanied Clergymen in those times. But it is true too, that there are far more examples of their piety and charity, would this Lord be pleased to remember the one with the other. As for their bad examples, his Lordship gives a reason why not all, but some of them, carried themselves with so much scorn and insolency towards their Princes, even with almost as much as this Lord and his faction carry themselves at this day towards their mild and gracious King. And the reason is a true one; it was their dependency upon the Pope, and their footing which thereby they had to

subsist out of the land: which may, and I hope will, be a sufficient warning to his Majesty and his successors, never to let in again a foreign supreme power into any of his dominions. For it is to have one state within, yet not dependent upon, the other, which can never be with safety or quiet in any kingdom: and I would have the world consider a little with what insolency, and perhaps disallegiance, this Lord and his Round-head crew would use their Kings, if they had but half so strong a foreign dependence as the Bishops then had, that dare use the most gracious of Kings as they do this present day. Two of these insolent ones (this Lord says) the Bishop that last spake named. Lincoln stands in the margin, by which it appears, that Dr. John Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, and since Archbishop of York, was the man that named two; but because this Lord names them not, I know not who they are, and therefore can say nothing for or against them, but leave them to that Lord which censured them. As for that which follows, that the instances of many more may be given, whereof there would

be no end ; this is a piece of this Lord's loud rhetoric, which can have no truth in it, especially relating, as it doth, to this kingdom only.

But whereas this Lord said immediately before, that their meddling in State business hath been the cause of shedding more Christian blood, than any thing else in the Christian world, and in the very next words falls upon the proof of it in this kingdom ; I must put him in mind, that one Parliament in England, namely, that which most irreligiously and traiterously deposed Richard II. was the cause of the effusion of more Christian blood amongst us, than all the Bishops that ever were in this kingdom. For that base and unjust Parliament was the cause of all the civil wars, those bloody wars which began in the heir's time after the usurpation of Henry IV. and ceased not till there were slain of the royal blood, and of nobles and the common people, a numberless number : and I heartily beg it of God, that no disloyal Parliament may ever bring this kingdom into the like distress. For our neighbours are far stronger now than they were then, and what

desolation it might bring upon us, God in Heaven knows. So this Lord may see, if he will, what a Parliament itself being misgoverned may do. But will his Lordship think it reason to condemn all Parliaments, because this, and some few more, have done what they should not do, as he here deals by Bishops? Sure he would not. But having done with the Bishops' dependency on the Pope, he goes on, and tells us farther, that

“ Although the Pope be cast off, yet now
“ there is another inconvenience, no
“ less prejudicial to the kingdom, by
“ their sitting in this House; and
“ that is, they have such an absolute
“ dependency upon the King, that
“ they sit not there as free-men.”

I am heartily sorry to see this Lord thus far transported: the Pope is indeed cast off from domineering over King, Church, and State. But I am sorry to hear it from this Lord, that this other inconvenience by Bishops sitting in

the House of Parliament, is no less prejudicial to the kingdom. Where, first, I observe, that this Lord accounts the Pope's ruling in this kingdom but a matter of inconvenience; for so his words imply. For that must be one inconvenience, if the Bishops' voting be the other; and I am sure the laws both of this Church and State, make it far worse than an inconvenience. Had I said thus much, I had been a Papist out of question. Secondly; I will appeal to any prudent and moderate Protestant in the Christian world, whether he can possibly think, that the Bishops having votes in the Parliaments of England can possibly be as great, or no less an inconvenience, than the Pope's supremacy here. And I believe this Lord when he thinks better of it, will wish these words unsaid.

Well! but what then is this inconvenience that is so great? Why, my Lord tells us, it is because they have such an absolute dependency upon the King, that they sit not there as freemen. Where, first, it is strange to me and my reason, that any dependency on the King, be it never so absolute, can be possibly so great an

inconvenience to the King, as (that upon) an independent foreign power is; the King being sworn to the laws, but the Pope being free, and (as he challenges) not only independent from, but superior to, both King and laws. Secondly, I conceive the Bishops' dependency is no more absolute upon the King than is the dependence of other honourable members of that House, and that the Bishops sit there as absolute free-men as any others, not excepting his Lordship. And of this belief I must be till the contrary shall be proved; which his Lordship goes thus about to do.

“ That which is requisite to freedom is, to
“ be void of hopes and fears; he that
“ can lay down these is a free-man,
“ and will be so in this House: but
“ for the Bishops, as the case stands
“ with them, it is not likely they will
“ lay aside their hopes; greater Bishop-
“ rics being still in expectancy; and
“ for their fears they cannot lay them
“ down, since their places and seats

“ in Parliament are not invested in
“ them by blood, and so hereditary ;
“ but by annexation of a Barony to
“ their office, and depending upon
“ that office ; so that they may be
“ deprived of their office, and thereby
“ of their places, at the King’s plea-
“ sure.”

My Lord’s philosophy is good enough ; for to be void of hopes and fears is very requisite to freedom, and he that can lay these down, is a free-man, or may be if he will : but whether he will be so in that great House, I cannot so well tell. For though no man can be free that is full charged with hopes or fears ; yet there are some other things which collaterally work upon men, and consequently take off their freedom, almost as much as hopes and fears can do. Such are consanguinity, affinity, especially if the wife bears any sway, private friendship, and above all faction. And therefore though I cannot think that every man will be a free-man in that House, that is void of hopes and fears,

yet I believe he may if he will. Now I conceive that in all these collateral stiflings of a man's freedom, the lay Lords are by far less free than the Bishops are.

Again, for the main bars of freedom, hopes and fears, into which all the rest do some way or other fall, I do not yet see but that Bishops, even as the case stands with them, may be as free, and I hope are, in their voting as temporal Lords. For their hopes, this Lord tells us it is not likely they will lay them aside, greater Bishoprics being still in expectancy. Truly, I do not know why a deserving Bishop may not in due time hope for a better Bishopric; and yet retain that freedom which becomes him in Parliament, as well as any Nobleman may be noble and free in that great Court, and yet have moderated hopes of being called to some great office, or to the council-table, or some honourable and profitable embassy, or some Knighthood of the Garter; of all or some of which there is still expectancy. Lay your hand on your heart, my Lord, and examine yourself.

As for fears, his Lordship tells us roundly

the Bishops cannot lay them down. Cannot? Are all the Bishops such poor spirits? But why can they not? Why, because their places in Parliament are not hereditary, but by annexation of a Barony to their office, and depending upon it; so that they may be deprived of their office, and thereby of their place, at the King's pleasure. First; I believe the Bishops gave their votes in Parliament as freely to their conscience and judgment as this Lord or any other. Secondly, if any of them, for fear or any other motive, have given their votes unworthily, I doubt not but many honourable Lords have at some time or other forgot themselves, and borne the Bishops company: though in this I commend neither. Thirdly, I know some Bishops who had rather lose not their Baronies only, but their Bishoprics also, than vote so unworthily as this Lord would make the world believe they have done. Lastly, it is true their seat in Parliament depends on their Barony, their Barony on their office; and if they be deprived of their office, both Barony and seat in Parliament are gone. But I hope my Lord

will not say we live under a tyrant ; and then I will say Bishops are not deprivable of their office, and consequently not of the rest, at the King's pleasure. But this Lord proceeds into a farther amplification : and to whet his inveterate malice against the King, says as follows. Nay,

“ They do not so much as sit here, *dum*
“ *bene se gesserint*, as the Judges
“ now by your Lordship's petition to
“ the King have their places granted
“ them, but at will and pleasure ; and
“ therefore as they were all excluded
“ by Edward the First, as long as he
“ pleased, and laws made *excluso Clero*,
“ so may they be by any King at
“ his pleasure in like manner. They
“ must needs therefore be in an abso-
“ lute dependency upon the Crown,
“ and thereby at devotion for their
“ votes, which how prejudicial it hath
“ been, and will be to this House,
“ I need not say.”

If I could wonder at any thing which this Lord doth or says in such arguments as these, when his heart is up against the Clergy, I should wonder at this. For if he will not suppose the King's government to be tyrannical, the Bishops have their places during life, and cannot justly be put out of them, unless their miscarriage be such as shall merit a deprivation. And, therefore, by this Lord's good leave, they have as good a tenure as the Judges is of a *quamdiu bene se gesserint*. And this they have without their Lordship's petition to the King, as his Lordship tells us was fain to be made for the Judges, thereby galling the King for giving some patents to the Judges during pleasure; which, as the case stood with them, whether he had reason to do or not, I will not dispute. So that manifest it is, that the Bishops do not hold their Bishoprics at the King's will and pleasure, and consequently neither their Baronies nor their places in Parliament.

And I would have my Lord consider, whether all the Noblemen that sit in that House, by

blood and inheritance, be not in the same condition upon the matter with the Bishops. For as Bishops may commit crimes worthy deprivation, and so consequently lose their votes in Parliament; so are there some crimes also which Noblemen may commit, (God preserve them from them,) which may consequently void all their rights in Parliament, yea, and taint their blood too.

And as for the Bishops' Baronies, they are not at the King's will and pleasure neither: for they hold their Baronies from the Crown indeed, but by so long prescription as will preserve them from any disseisure at will and pleasure of the King. So if they merit not deprivation by law and justice, their Baronies are safe, and that by as good right, and far ancients descent, than any the ancientest Nobleman of England can plead for himself.

For Edward the First, he was a brave Prince, and is of glorious memory, and respected the dutifulness of his Clergy very royally. As for the Acts of Parliament made in his time, and the time of his royal successor Edward the Third, I

conceive nothing can be gathered out of the Titles or Prefaces of those Acts, against either the Bishops' presence at, or their voting to those laws, by any prohibition or exclusion of them, by those famous Kings. For though the Statute of Carlisle^d, 35 Edward I. not printed, be recited in the Statute 25 Edward III. of Provisoos, and says, that by the assent of the Earls, Barons, and other Nobles, and all the commonalty, at their instances and requests in the said full Parliament, it was ordained, &c. without any mention at all of the Prelates; yet it is more than probable, that the Prelates were summoned to, and present at, these Parliaments. For first, it appears expressly that the Statute of the Staple, 27 Edward III. made in the same Parliament with the Statute of Provisoos, that the Prelates were assembled and present there: and I rather think that in all these Statutes of Provisoos, (being professedly made against the liberty and jurisdiction of the Pope, in those times challenged in this kingdom, to

^d Et similiter in the Statute of 27 Ed. III. and 38 Ed. III. both of Provisoos.

whose power the Bishops were then subject,) they voluntarily chose to be absent, rather than endanger themselves to the Pope, if they voted for such laws ; or offend the King and the State, if they voted against them. But these laws were not made *excluso Clero*, and that as long as the King pleased, (as this Lord affirms,) and this is very plain in the Statute itself of 38 Edward III. For in the last chapter of that Statute, though the Prelates be omitted in the preamble, yet there it is expressly said, that the King, the Prelates, the Dukes, Earls, and Barons, &c. So here was not exclusion of the Bishops by the King, but their own voluntary absence, which made those kind of laws pass without them.

As for the Parliament at Carlisle, I conceive the books are misprinted, and a common error risen by it. For that Parliament was held Anno 35 Edward I. and was the first of Provisoës : and, as appears in the Records, the Prelates were present. * But in 25 Edward I. the Parliament was summoned to London, and

* Rotulo Clausar. 25 Ed. I. M. 6. Dorso.

the Bishops called to it. And there was^c another summons to Salisbury in the same roll, to which the Prelates were not called. But this, I conceive, was a summons of the King's great Council only, and not of a Parliament, the Commons not being called any more than the Prelates: nor were there any other summons 25 Edward I. but these two. That which his Lordship infers upon this is, that therefore the Bishops are in absolute dependency upon the Crown; which is manifestly untrue, since they cannot be outed at will and pleasure, but for demerit only; and that may fall upon temporal Lords as well as Bishops. And therefore neither are they at devotion for their votes; and therefore, in true construction, no prejudice can come by them to that honourable House. And I pray God their casting out be not more prejudicial both to State and Church than I am willing to fore-speak. After this his Lordship tells us what he hath done in this great argument, saying,

^c M. 25. Dorso.

“ I have now shewed your Lordships how
“ hurtful to themselves and others
“ these things, which the Bill would
“ take away, have been. I will only
“ answer some objections which I
“ have met withal, and then crave
“ your pardon for troubling you so
“ long.”

His Lordship tells us he hath shewed how hurtful these things are, both to the Bishops and others, which this Bill would hew down; and out of his zeal and love to the Church he hath gone farther than any man in this argument; yet I conceive he hath not shewed what he thinks he hath. It is true, he hath strongly laboured it, but I hope it will appear he hath not mastered it. I shall now see how he answers such objections, as his Lordship says he hath met with. And the first objection is, his Lordship says,

- “ 1. That they have been very ancient.
- “ 2. That they are established by law.

“ 3. That it may be an infringement to the
“ House of Peers, for the House of
“ Commons to send up a Bill to take
“ away some of their Members. To
“ these three the answer will be
“ easy.”

I know not how easy the answer will be, but these must needs be hard times for Bishops, if neither antiquity can fence them against novelty, nor law defend them against violence, nor fear of weakening the House of Peers preserve them against the eagerness of the House of Commons; and that in the very House of Peers itself. Let us see then and consider how easy the answer will be to these, and how sufficient also.

“ To the first. Antiquity is no good
“ plea; for that which is by experi-
“ ence found hurtful, the longer it
“ hath done hurt, the more cause
“ there is now to remove it, that it
“ may do no more. Besides, other

“irregularities are as ancient which
“have been thought fit to be re-
“dressed; and this is not so ancient,
“but that it may truly be said, *non*
“*fuit sic ab initio.*”

This answer may be easy enough; but sure it is not sufficient: nor do I wonder that antiquity is no good plea in this Lord's account; for he is such an enemy to it, that he will have his very religion new. If any thing be ancient, it smells of Antichrist. Yea, but if it be found hurtful, the longer it hath done hurt, the more cause to remove it. That is true; if it be hurtful in and of itself; so is not this. If it does hurt constantly or frequently; else you must cast out the lay Lords' votes too, and his Lordship's with the rest. For out of all doubt their votes do hurt sometimes, and it may be more often and more dangerously than the Bishops' votes: and when this Lord shall be pleased to tell us what those other irregularities are, which are as ancient and yet redressed, I will consider of them, and then either grant or deny. In the

mean time, I think it hath been proved that it is no irregularity for a Bishop that is called to it by supreme authority, to give counsel, or otherwise to meddle in civil affairs, so as it take him not quite off from his calling. And for his Lordship's close. That this is not so ancient, but that it may be truly said, *non fuit sic ab initio*; his Lordship is much deceived. For that speech of our Saviour's ‡, is spoken of marriage, which was instituted in Paradise, and therefore *ab initio*, from the beginning, must there be taken from the creation, or from the institution of marriage soon after it. But I hope his Lordship means it not so here, to put it off that Bishops had not votes in the Parliaments of England from creation: for then no question but it may be truly said, *non fuit sic ab initio*. But if his Lordship, or any other, will apply this speech to any thing else, which hath not its beginning so high, he must then refer his words and meaning to that time, in which that thing he speaks of took its beginning; as is this particular to the beginning

‡ Matt. xix. 8.

of Parliaments in this kingdom. And then, under favour of this Lord, the voting of Bishops in Parliament is so ancient, that it cannot be truly said, *non fuit sic ab initio*: for so far as this kingdom hath any records to shew, Clergymen, both Bishops and Abbots, had free and full votes in Parliament; so full, as that in the first Parliament of which we have any certain records, which was in the forty and ninth year of Henry the Third, there was summoned by the King to vote in Parliament, one hundred and twenty Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, and but twenty-three Lay-Lords. Now there were but twenty-six Bishops in all, and the Lords being multiplied (to the unspeakable prejudice of the Crown) into above one hundred, besides many of their young sons called by writ in their father's lifetime, have either found or made a troubled time, to cast the Bishops and their votes out of the House.

- “ 2. To the objection for being established
“ by law, (his Lordship says,) the law-
“ makers have the same power and

“ the same charge to alter old laws
“ inconvenient, as to make new that
“ are necessary.”

The law-makers have indeed the same power in them, and the same charge upon them, that their predecessors in former times had; and there is no question but old laws may be abrogated and new ones made: but this Lord, who seems to be well versed in the rules and laws of government, (which the poor Bishops understand not,) cannot but know that it is a dangerous thing to be often changing of the laws; especially such as have been ancient, and where the old is not inconvenient, nor the new necessary; which is the true state of this business, whatever this Lord thinks.

“ 3. And for the third objection, the
“ privileges of the House, (this Lord
“ says,) it can be no breach of them.
“ For either Estate may propose to
“ the other by way of Bill, what they
“ conceive to be for public good, and

“ they have power respectively of
“ accepting or refusing.”

This is an easy answer indeed, and very true. For either Estate in Parliament may propose to the other by way of Bill, and they have power respectively of accepting or refusing; and there is no breach of privilege in all this. But this easy answer comes not home. For how my Lord understands this objection, I know not; it seems as if it did reach only to the external breach of some privilege, but I conceive they which made the objection meant much more. As, namely, that by this Bill there was an aim in the Commons to weaken the Lords' House, and by making their votes fewer, to be the better able to work them to their own ends in future businesses. So the argument is of equal, if not greater, strength against the Lords yielding to the Bill to the infringement of their own strength, than to the Commons proposing it, and there is no doubt but that the Commons might propose their Bill without breach of privilege; but whether the Lords might grant

it without impairing their own strength, I leave the future times, which shall see the success of this Act of Parliament, to judge of the wisdom of it, which I shall not presume to do. I thought his Lordship had now done; but he tells us,

- “ 4. There are two other objections which
“ may seem to have more force; but
“ they will receive satisfactory answers.
“ The one is, that if they may remove
“ Bishops, they may as well next time
“ remove Barons and Earls.”

This Lord confesses the two arguments following are of more force, but he says they will receive satisfactory answers. And it may be so. But what answers soever they may receive, yet I doubt whether those which that Lord gives be such: for to this of taking away of Barons and Earls next, his Lordship answers two things. First he says,

“ The reason is not the same; the one

“ sitting by an honour invested in
“ their blood and hereditary, which
“ though it be in the King alone to
“ grant, yet being once granted, he
“ cannot take away. The other sit-
“ ting by a Barony depending upon
“ an office, which may be taken away ;
“ for if they be deprived of their
“ office, they sit not.”

To this there have been enough said before ; yet that it may fully appear this reason is not satisfactory, this Lord should do well to know, or rather to remember, for I think he knows it already, that though these great Lords have and hold their places in Parliament by blood and inheritance, and the Bishops by Baronies depending upon their office ; yet the King, which gives alone, can no more justly or lawfully alone take away their office without their demerit, and that in a legal way, than he can take away Noblemen's honours. And therefore, for ought is yet said, their cases are not so much alike as his Lordship would have them seem. In this

indeed they differ somewhat, that Bishops may be deprived upon more crimes, than those are for which Earls and Barons may lose their honours; but neither of them can be justly done by the King's will and pleasure only. But secondly, for farther answer this Lord tells us,

“ The Bishops sitting there is not so
“ essential. For laws have been, and
“ may be, made, they being all ex-
“ cluded; but it can never be shewed
“ that ever there were laws made by
“ the King and them, the Lords and
“ Earls excluded.”

This reason is as little satisfactory to me as the former. For certainly, according to law and prescription of hundreds of years, the Bishops sitting in that House is as essential as the Lords. And this about the laws made without them, is built only upon some difficult emergent cases, from which they desired to be exempt and free themselves: not from any constraint of the State; nor from any opinion of

the King, Peers, or People, that it was fit to make laws without them. But to this we have given an answer before.

But this objection of taking away the Earls and Barons next, strikes (as I conceive) another way at the Lords' House, than either of those answers or reasons seem to meet with. And perhaps this Lord himself is willing to pass it by, if he does see it; and it is thus. The House of Commons sees and knows well enough, that should they bring up a Bill open, and with a bare edge to take away the votes from the Lords, it could not possibly be endured by either King or Peers. Therefore the Bill which may come to take them away next, and which may be meant in this objection, may be a Bill to make one House of both, and set them altogether, under the pretence of greater unity, and more free and quick dispatch of all business, all messages and conferences, and breach of correspondencies, and differences happening between the two Houses, while they are two, being by this means taken away. And this I am sure hath been much spoken of since this

Parliament began, and may with far more ease be next compassed now the Bishops are thrust out; both because there are fewer in the Lords' House to help to cast out such a Bill, and because the Commons' House, which would willingly receive the Lords in among them, would never admit the Bishops into their House. So that both ways this is made far more easy to pass. And, should this happen, I would fain know of this Lord, wherein this objection would fail, that they might the next time remove the Barons and the Earls. Not remove them from making laws, (as his Lordship speaks of it,) but remove them into the House of Commons, where their votes shall be swallowed up among the many, and might be quite overmastered, though they should not all agree and vote one way. For then the meanest Commoner in that House would have his vote as great as the greatest Earls. Whereas now in their own House being distinct, though all the House of Commons agree upon a Bill, or any thing else; the Lords may, if they see reason, alter or reject it. So that if hereafter they be reduced to one

House, I make no question but their votes are gone next after the Bishops. And if his Lordship shall think this an impossible supposition ; let him know, it is not half so impossible, as that which he made before, of the heavenly bodies breaking out of their own spheres. But we are now come to the last objection, the other of the two, which his Lordship says are stronger. And,

- “ 5. The other objection is this, That this
“ Bill alters the foundation of this
“ House ; and innovations, which
“ shake foundations, are dangerous.”

And truly this objection seems to me very strong ; but perhaps that is by reason of my weakness ; for my Lord tells us before, that it is capable of a satisfactory answer ; and here his Lordship gives two for failing.

- “ I answer, first, That if there should be
“ an error in the foundation, when it
“ shall be found, and the master-

“ builders be met together, they may,
“ nay, they ought rather to amend it,
“ than to suffer it to run on still to
“ the prejudice and danger of the
“ whole structure.”

This answer, whatever this Lord thinks of it, is not satisfactory; and the thing will be full of danger, whensoever it shall be put to trial. For foundations are seldom meddled withal but with great hazard, and a fundamental error in a kingdom is borne with more safety to the whole than it can be taken away. And this happens partly because among the many subjects of a kingdom there are different judgments, and as different affections; whence it follows, that all men are not of opinion, that that which is called an error in the foundation, is so indeed: nor do the affections of all men dislike it, nay, perhaps the greater, perhaps the better part will approve it. In this case, if the master-builders fall to mending of this somewhat boisterously, may they not rend all in pieces, to fall about their own ears, and other men's? And partly,

because the master-builders which are to meet to repair the decays of the State, though in all ages they have the same authority to make laws, yet they have not in all ages the same skill and wisdom, for the making or the mending of them. Whence it follows, that even the master-builders themselves may mistake, and call that the error, which is indeed a great part of the strength of the foundation: and so by tampering to mend that which is better already, endanger the shaking, if not the fall, of the whole structure, which they would labour to preserve. And I pray God posterity do not find it, that even the master-builders which are now met, be not so deceived, and with as ill success, in casting the Bishops' votes out of the House, under the name of an error in the foundation. But if this answer satisfy not, his Lordship may hope his next will. For,

“ Secondly, he says, This is not funda-
“ mental to this House. For it hath
“ stood without them, and done all
“ that appertains to the power thereof

“ without them, yea, they being wholly
“ excluded : and that which hath been
“ done for a time at the King’s plea-
“ sure, may be done with as little
“ danger for a longer time ; and when
“ it appears to be fit, and for public
“ good, not only may, but ought to
“ be done altogether by the supreme
“ power.”

It seems this Lord distrusts his former answer about mending fundamental errors in a State, and therefore here he denies that Bishops and their votes are fundamental to the Lords’ House. But I doubt his Lordship is mistaken in this. For that is fundamental in any Court, which in that Court is first laid and settled, upon which all the future structure is raised. Now in the Lords’ House of Parliament, the Bishops’ votes were laid at the very first, as well as the votes of the Lords temporal. Nay, with a precedency both in place and number, and all the ordinances and powers of that great Court have equally proceeded from the votes of

the Bishops and the Lords: and therefore for ought which yet appears to me, either the Lords' votes are not fundamental to that House, or the Bishops' are.

But his Lordship proves they are not fundamental to that House, because that House hath stood without them. But weakly enough, God knows, like a house whose foundations are shaken upon one side, and because that House hath done all that appertains to the power of it without them. It may be so. But I doubt whether it did all that appertains to the wisdom of it without them. For this relation again to that Parliament under Edward the First, from which his Lordship says Bishops were excluded; and we know that Parliament is called *indoctum Parliamentum*, the unlearned Parliament: for all the Lawyers were excluded from that Parliament as well as the Clergymen. And therefore were this Lord indifferent, he might argue that Lawyers' votes are not fundamental in the Commons' House; which is true, though no way convenient: rather than the Bishops' votes are not fundamental in the Lords' House; which is

utterly against all truth and convenience. But his Lordship's tooth is so sharp, and so black against that order, that he snaps at them upon all, and upon no occasion, and would invenom them had he power.

To make this seem the better, his Lordship ends this speech with a piece of philosophy, which I cannot approve neither. For he says, That which hath been done for a time at the King's pleasure, may be done with as little danger for a longer time. For first, this proposition is unsound in itself: for many cases may happen, in which divers things may be done for a Prince's pleasure once, or for a time, and with no great danger; which continued or often repeated, will be full of danger, and perhaps not endured by the subject. Secondly, I am confident, let the tables be but turned from a Bishop to a Layman, and this Lord shall eat his own proposition. For instance; in another Parliament, and in a time generally received to be as good as that of Edward the First, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and within my own memory, Mr. Peter Wentworth moved in the

House of Commons to have an heir apparent declared for the better and securer peace of the kingdom in after-times. The Queen, for her mere will and pleasure, (for that which he did was no offence against law,) took him either out of the House, or so soon as he came out of the House, clapped him up in the Tower, where he lay till his death. What will this Lord say to this? Will he say this was done once at the Prince's pleasure? Why then I return his proposition upon him, and tell him, that that which was done once at one Prince's pleasure, may be done oftener at other Princes' pleasure with as little danger. Or will this Lord say this was not done at the Queen's pleasure, but she might justly and legally do so? Then other Princes of this realm, having the same power residing in them, may do by other Parliament men, as she did with this Gentleman. And which soever of the two he shall say, King Charles has as good right, and with as little breach of Parliament-privilege, to demand the six men which by his Attorney he had accused of treason, as that great Queen had to lay hold on Mr. Wentworth.

Since I had written this, the Observer^h steps in and tells us, that a mere example (though of Queen Elizabeth) is no law; for some of her actions were retracted: and that yet without question Queen Elizabeth might do that which a Prince less beloved could never have done. It is true, that a mere example is not a law, and yet the Parliaments of England, even in that happy Queen's time, were not apt to bear examples against law; and if that she did were not against law, that is as much as I ask. For then neither is that against law which King Charles did upon a far higher accusation, than could be charged against Mr. Wentworth. It is true again, that Queen Elizabeth might do that which a Prince less beloved could not have done; that is, she might do that with safety, which a Prince less beloved could not do, that is, not do with safety. But whatsoever is lawful for one Prince to do, is as lawful for another; though perhaps not so expedient, in regard of what will be well or ill taken by the people.

^h Observations upon some of his Majesty's late Answers, p. 7.

But otherwise the people's affection to the Prince can be no rule nor measure of the Prince's justice to the people.

I will be bold to give him another instance. King Charles demanded ship-money all over the kingdom: either he did this justly and legally for the defence of himself and the public; or he did it at his will and pleasure, thinking that an honourable and fit way of defence. I am sure this Lord will not say he did it legally, for his vote concurred to the condemning of it in Parliament: and if he say he did it at his own will and pleasure, then I would fain know of his Lordship, whether this which was done for a time at the King's pleasure, may be done with as little danger to the liberty of the subject, and the property of his goods, for a longer time, and so be continued on the subject? And if he says it may, why did he vote against it as a thing dangerous? And if he says it may not, then he must condemn his own proposition. For he cannot but see, that that which is once done, or done for a short time at a Prince's will and pleasure, can-

not be often repeated or continued, but with far greater danger than it was once done. Though for the thing itself, if it were not legal, I am sorry it is not made so. For it would be, under God, the greatest honour and security that this nation ever had: whereas now the tugging which falls out between the King's power, and the people's liberty, will in time (unless God's infinite mercy prevents it) do that in this kingdom, which I abhor to think on.

This Lord goes on yet and tells us, that that which hath been so done for a time, when it appears to be fit and for public good, not only may, but ought to be done altogether by the supreme power. So then here this is his Lordship's doctrine, that that which was once done at a Prince's will and pleasure, when it shall appear to be fit, and for the public good, (as he supposeth here the taking away of Bishops' votes to be,) it not only may, but ought to be done altogether by the supreme power, as now that is done by Act of Parliament. Not only may, but ought! Soft a little; his Lordship had the same phrase immediately before. Why

but, first, every thing that is fit, ought not by and by to be made up into a law: for fitness may vary very often, which laws should not. Secondly, every thing that is for the public good, is not by and by to be made up into a law: for many things in times of difficulty and exigency may be for public good, which in some other times may be hurtful, and therefore not to be generally bound within a law. And if his Lordship shall say, as here he doth, that they ought to be done altogether, and be made up into a law by the supreme power, but fitted only to such times; under his Lordship's favour, that ought not to be neither. For let such a law be made, and he that is once master of the times, will have the law ready to serve his turn and theirs, whether the times bear the like necessity or not.

And since every thing that is fit, and is for public good, ought not by and by, without more experience of it, to be made up into a law; then much less that which appears so; yea, though it appear never so evidently; yea, and to the wisest Parliament that ever sat. It

is true, they may make such a thing into a law, and it is fit for the most part so to do; but to say they ought to do it, is more than I can believe. For no Parliament is or can be so wise as to be infallible, and no evidence can be so apparent unto them in those things of infinite variety for the public good, and in which is so much uncertainty; but that they may both piously and prudently forbear the making of some of them into a law if they please. But no man may forbear that which he ought to do, when he ought to do it: and till that time comes, he ought not. This Lord hath now done, and so have I: and I shall end with my prayers to God, that this Act of Parliament now made to cast the Bishops and their votes out of the Parliament, how fit soever it seems, and how much soever it appears to this Lord to be for the public good, do not turn to the decay of religion, and the great damage and detriment of King and Peers, of Church and State.

Amen.





A SPEECH
DELIVERED
IN THE STAR-CHAMBER,

On Wednesday, June 14, 1637,

AT
THE CENSURE
OF

J. BASTWICK, H. BURTON, AND W. PRYNNE ;

CONCERNING
PRETENDED INNOVATIONS
IN

The Church.

BY THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
WILLIAM LAUD,
THEN LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.



TO HIS
MOST SACRED MAJESTY,
CHARLES,

By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France,
and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign,

I HAD no purpose to come in print, but
your Majesty commands it, and I obey.
Most sorry I am for the occasion that
induced me to speak, and that since hath
moved you to command me to print.
Nor am I ignorant that many things,
while they are spoken and pass by the
ear but once, give great content; which

when they come to the eyes of men, and their often scanning, may lie open to some exceptions. This may fall to my lot in this particular, and very easily, considering my many diversions, and the little time I could snatch from other employment to attend this. Yet choose I rather to obey your Majesty, than to sacrifice to mine own privacy and content.

Since then this speech, uttered in public in the Star-Chamber, must now come to be more public in print; I humbly desire your sacred Majesty to protect me, and it, from the undeserved calumny of those men, ‘whose mouths are spears and arrows, and their tongues a sharp sword^a.’ Though, as the Wise-man speaks, ‘their foolish mouths have already called for their own stripes, and their lips (and pens) been a snare for their souls^b.’

^a Psalm lvii. 4.

^b Prov. xviii. 6, 7.

The occasion which led me to this speech is known. There have of late been divers libels spread against the Prelates of this Church. And they have not been more bitter, which is the shame of these raging waves^c, than they are utterly false, which is our happiness. But I must humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, that it is not we only, that is, the Bishops, that are struck at, but, through our sides, your Majesty, your honour, your safety, your religion, is impeached. For what safety can you expect, if you lose the hearts of your people? And how can you retain their hearts, if you change their religion into superstition? And what honour can you hope for, either present, or derivative to posterity, if you attend your government no better than to suffer your Prelates to put this change upon you? And what

^c Jude, ver. 13.

majesty can any Prince retain, if he lose his honour and his people ?

God be thanked, it is in all points otherwise with you : for God hath blessed you with a religious heart, and not subject to change. And he hath filled you with honour in the eyes of your people : and by their love and dutifulness he hath made you safe. So that your Majesty is upheld, and your Crown flourishing in the eyes of Christendom. And God forbid any libellous blast at home from the tongues or pens of a few, should shrivel up any growth of these.

We have received, and daily do receive from God, many and great blessings by you : and I hope they are not many that are unthankful to you, or to God for you. And that there should be none in a populous nation, even enemies to their own happiness, cannot be expected. Yet I shall desire even these to call them-

selves to an account, and to remember, that blasphemy against God, and slandering the footsteps of His Anointed, are joined together^d. For he that blasphemes God, will never stick at the slander of his Prince; and he that gives himself the liberty to slander his Prince, will quickly ascend to the next highest, and blaspheme God.

But then, as I desire them to remember, so I most humbly beseech your Majesty to account with yourself too: and not to measure your people's love by the unworthiness of those few. For a loyal and obedient people you have, and such as will spare nor livelihood, nor life, to do you service; and are joyed at the heart to see the moderation of your government, and your constancy to

^d Psalm lxxxix. 50. 'Wherewith 'Thine enemies hath blasphemed Thee, and slandered the footsteps of Thine Anointed.'

maintain Religion, and your piety in exempling it.

And as I thus beseech you for your people in general, so do I particularly for the three professions which have a little suffered in these three most notorious libellers' persons.

And first, for my own profession, I humbly beg of your Majesty to think Mr. Burton hath not in this many followers, and am heartily sorry he would needs lead. The best is, your Majesty knows what made his rancour swell; I will say no more.

And for the Law, I truly honour it with my heart, and believe Mr. Prynne may seek all the Inns of Court, (and with a candle too if he will,) and scarce find such a malevolent as himself against State and Church. And because he hath so frequently thrust mistaken law into these pamphlets, to wrong the governors

of the Church, and abuse your good and well-minded people, and makes Burton and Bastwick utter law which, God knows, they understand not, (for I doubt his pen is in all the pamphlets,) I do humbly, in the Church's name, desire of your Majesty, that it may be resolved by all the Reverend Judges of England, and then published by your Majesty, that our keeping Courts, and issuing process in our own names, and the like exceptions formerly taken, and now renewed, are not against the laws of the realm, (as it is most certain they are not,) that so the Church-governors may go on cheerfully in their duty, and the people's minds be quieted by this assurance, that neither the law, nor their liberty, as subjects, is thereby infringed.

And for Physic, the profession is honourable, and safe; and I know the Professors of it will remember, that,

corpus humanum, man's body, is that about which their art is conversant, not *corpus Ecclesiasticum* or *Politicum*, the body of the Church, State, or Commonwealth. Bastwick only hath been bold that way. But the proverb in the Gospel, in the fourth of St. Luke^e, is all I will say to him, *Medice, cura teipsum*, Physician, heal thyself. And yet let me tell your Majesty, I believe he hath gained more by making the Church a patient, than by all the patients he ever had beside.

Sir, both myself and my brethren have been very coarsely used by the tongues and pens of these men, yet shall I never give your Majesty any sour counsel; I shall rather magnify your clemency, that proceeded with these offenders in a court of mercy as well as

^e St. Luke iv. 23.

justice: since (as the Reverend Judges then declared) you might have justly called the offenders into another Court, and put them to it in a way that might have exacted their lives, for their stirring (as much as in them lay) of mutiny and sedition.

Yet this I shall be bold to say, and your Majesty may consider of it in your wisdom, that one way of government is not always either fit or safe, when the humours of the people are in a continual change: especially, when such men as these shall work upon your people, and labour to infuse into them such malignant principles, to introduce a parity in the Church or Common-wealth. *Et si non satis sua sponte insaniant, instigare*, and to spur on such among them as are too sharply set already: and by this means make and prepare all advantages for the Roman party to scorn us, and pervert them.

I pray God bless your Majesty, your Royal Consort, and your hopeful posterity, that you may live in happiness; govern with wisdom; support your people by justice; relieve them by mercy; defend them by power and success; and guide them in the true religion by your laws and most religious example, all the long and lasting days of your life: which are and shall be the daily prayers of

Your Sacred Majesty's

Most loyal subject, and most dutiful servant,

As most bound,

W. CANT.





LAUD

ON

CHURCH RITUAL.

MY LORDS,

I shall not need to speak of the infamous course of libelling in any kind: nor of the punishment of it, which in some cases was capital by the imperial laws; as appears, Cod. l. ix. t. 36. Nor how patiently some great men, very great men indeed, have born *animo civili* (that is Suetonius's word^a) *laceratam existimationem*, the tearing and rending of their credit and reputation, with a gentle, nay, a generous mind.

But of all libels, they are most odious which pretend Religion: as if that of all things did

^a In Jul. c. 75.

desire to be defended by a mouth that is like an open sepulchre, or by a pen that is made of a sick and a loathsome quill.

There were times when persecutions were great in the Church, even to exceed barbarity itself: did any Martyr or Confessor, in those times, libel the governors? Surely no; not one of them to my best remembrance: yet these complain of persecution without all shew of cause; and in the mean time libel and rail without all measure. So little of kin are they to those which suffer for Christ, or the least part of Christian religion.

My Lords, it is not every man's spirit to hold up against the venom which libellers spit. For St. Ambrose, who was a stout and a worthy Prelate, tells us, not that himself, but that a far greater man than he, that is King David, had found out (so it seems in his judgment it was no matter of ordinary ability) *grande inventum*, a great and mighty invention, how to swallow and put off those bitter contumelies of the tongue^c: and those of the pen are no whit

^c In Apol. i. David. c. 6.

less, and spread farther. And it was a great one indeed, and well beseemed the greatness of David. But I think it will be far better for me to look upward, and practise it, than to look downward, and discourse upon it.

In the mean time, I shall remember what an ancient, under the name of St. Hierome, tells me^d, *indignum est et præposterum*, It is unworthy in itself, and preposterous in demeanour, for a man to be ashamed for doing good, because other men glory in speaking ill.

And I can say it clearly and truly, as in the presence of God, I have done nothing, as a Prelate, to the uttermost of what I am conscious, but with a single heart, and with a sincere intention for the good government and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Christ, professed, established, and maintained in this Church of England.

For my care of this Church, the reducing of it into order, the upholding of the external worship of God in it, and the settling of it to

^d Ad Ocean. de Ferend. Opprob.

the rules of its first reformation, are the causes (and the sole causes, whatever are pretended) of all this malicious storm, which hath lowered so black upon me, and some of my brethren. And in the mean time, they which are the only, or the chief innovators of the Christian world, having nothing to say, accuse us of innovation; they themselves and their complices in the mean time being the greatest innovators that the Christian world hath almost ever known. I deny not but others have spread more dangerous errors in the Church of Christ; but no men, in any age of it, hath been more guilty of innovation than they, while themselves cry out against it, *Quis tulerit Gracchos?*

And I said well, *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* For it is most apparent to any man that will not wink, that the intention of these men, and their abettors, was and is to raise a sedition, being as great incendiaries in the State, (where they get power,) as they have ever been in the Church; Novatian himself hardly greater.

Our main crime^e is, (would they all speak

^e Burton's Apol. p. 110.

out, as some of them do,) that we are Bishops; were we not so, some of us might be as passable as other men.

And a great trouble it is to them, that we maintain that our calling of Bishops is *jure Divino*, by Divine right: of this I have said enough, and in this place, in Leighton's case, nor will I repeat. Only this I will say, and abide by it, that the calling of Bishops is *jure Divino*, by Divine right, though not all adjuncts to their calling. And this I say in as direct opposition to the Church of Rome, as to the Puritan humour.

And I say farther, that from the Apostles' times, in all ages, in all places, the Church of Christ was governed by Bishops: and lay-elders never heard of, till Calvin's new-fangled device at Geneva.

Now this is made by these men, as if it were *contra Regem*, against the King, in right or in power.

But that is a mere ignorant shift; for our being Bishops, *jure Divino*, by Divine right, takes nothing from the King's right or power

over us. For though our office be from God and Christ immediately, yet may we not exercise that power, either of order or jurisdiction, but as God hath appointed us, that is, not in his Majesty's, or any Christian King's kingdoms, but by and under the power of the King given us so to do.

And were this a good argument against us, as Bishops, it must needs be good against Priests and Ministers too; for themselves grant that their calling is *jure Divino*, by Divine right; and yet I hope they will not say, that to be Priests and Ministers is against the King, or any of his royal prerogatives.

Next, suppose our callings, as Bishops, could not be made good *jure Divino*, by Divine right, yet *jure Ecclesiastico*, by Ecclesiastical right, it cannot be denied. And here in England the Bishops are confirmed, both in their power and means, by Act of Parliament. So that here we stand in as good case as the present laws of the realm can make us. And so we must stand, till the laws shall be repealed by the same power that made them.

Now then, suppose we had no other string to hold by, (I say suppose this, but I grant it not,) yet no man can libel against our calling, (as these men do,) be it in pulpit, print, or otherwise, but he libels against the King and the State, by whose laws we are established. Therefore, all these libels, so far forth as they are against our calling, are against the King and the law, and can have no other purpose, than to stir up sedition among the people.

If these men had any other intention, or if they had any Christian or charitable desire to reform any thing amiss; why did they not modestly petition his Majesty about it, that in his Princely wisdom he might set all things right, in a just and orderly manner? but this was neither their intention nor way. For one clamours out of his pulpit, and all of them from the press, and in a most virulent and unchristian manner set themselves to make a heat among the people; and so by mutiny, to effect that which by law they cannot; and by most false and unjust calumnies to defame both our callings and persons. But for my part, as I pity their

rage, so I heartily pray God to forgive their malice.

No nation hath ever appeared more jealous of Religion, than the people of England have ever been. And their zeal to God's glory hath been, and at this day is, a great honour to them. But this zeal of theirs hath not been, at all times and in all persons, alike guided by knowledge. Now zeal, as it is of excellent use, where it sees its way; so it is very dangerous company, where it goes on in the dark^f: and these men, knowing the disposition of the people, have laboured nothing more, than to misinform their knowledge, and misguide their zeal, and so to fire that into a sedition, in hope that they whom they causelessly hate, might miscarry in it.

^f You may see it in the example of St. Paul himself, whose very zeal in the darkness of his understanding, which he then had, made him persecute Christ and His Church, Acts xxii. 3, 4. And he was very dangerous company then; for he breathed out threatenings against the Disciples, Acts ix. 1. So true is that of St. Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. *Zelus iracundiam acuit*: All zeal puts an edge to anger itself: and that must needs be dangerous in the dark.

For the main scope of these libels is to kindle a jealousy in men's minds, that there are some great plots in hand, dangerous plots, (so says Mr. Burton expressly^g,) to change the orthodox Religion established in England; and to bring in, I know not what, Romish superstition in the room of it. As if the external decent worship of God could not be upheld in this kingdom, without bringing in of Popery.

Now by this art of theirs, give me leave to tell you, that the King is most desperately abused and wounded in the minds of his people, and the Prelates shamefully.

The King most desperately: For there is not a more cunning trick in the world, to withdraw the people's hearts from their Sovereign, than to persuade them that he is changing true Religion, and about to bring in gross superstition upon them.

And the Prelates shamefully: for they are charged to seduce, and lay the plot, and be the instruments.

For his Majesty first. This I know, and

upon this occasion take it my duty to speak : There is no Prince in Christendom more sincere in his Religion, nor more constant to it, than the King. And he gave such a testimony of this at his being in Spain, as I much doubt whether the best of that faction durst have done half so much as his Majesty did, in the face of that kingdom. And this you, my Lord, the Earl of Holland, and other persons of honour, were eye and ear witnesses of, having the happiness to attend him there. And at this day, as his Majesty (by God's great blessing both on him and us) knows more, so is he more settled and more confirmed, both in the truth of the Religion here established, and in resolution to maintain it.

And for the Prelates ; I assure myself, they cannot be so base, as to live Prelates in the Church of England, and labour to bring in the superstitions of the Church of Rome upon themselves and it. And if any should be so foul, I do not only leave him to God's judgment, but (if these libellers, or any other, can discover that his base and irreligious falsehood) to shame

also, and severe punishment from the State: and in any just way, no man's hand shall be more or sooner against him, than mine shall be.

And for myself, to pass by all the scandalous reproaches, which they have most injuriously cast upon me, I shall say this only.

First, I know of no plot, nor purpose of altering the Religion established.

Secondly, I have ever been far from attempting any thing that may truly be said to tend that way in the least degree: and to these two, I here offer my oath.

Thirdly, If the King had a mind to change Religion, (which I know he hath not, and God forbid he should ever have,) he must seek for other instruments. For as basely as these men conceive of me, yet I thank God, I know my duty well, both to God and the King: and I know that all the duty I owe to the King, is under God. And my great happiness it is, (though not mine alone, but your Lordships' and all his subjects with me,) that we live under a gracious and a religious King, that will ever

give us leave to serve God first, and him next. But were the days otherwise, I thank Christ for it, I yet know not how to serve any man against the truth of God, and I hope I shall never learn it.

But to return to the business. What is their art to make the world believe a change of Religion is endeavoured? What? Why forsooth, they say, there are great innovations brought in by the Prelates, and such as tend to the advancing of Popery.

Now that the vanity and falsehood of this may appear, I shall humbly desire your Lordships to give me leave to recite briefly all the innovations charged upon us, be they of less or greater moment, and as briefly to answer them. And then you shall clearly see, whether any cause hath been given of these unsavoury libels; and withal, whether there be any shew of cause to fear a change of Religion. And I will take these great pretended innovations in order, as I meet with them.

First, I begin with the News from Ipswich.

Where the first innovation is^h, “ That the
“ last year’s fast was enjoined to be
“ without Sermons in London, the
“ suburbs, and other infected places,
“ contrary to the orders for other fasts
“ in former times : whereas Sermons
“ are the only means to humble men,
“ &c.”

To this I say, first, That an after-age may, without offence, learn to avoid any visible inconvenience observed in the former. And there was visible inconvenience observed in men’s former flocking to Sermons in infected places.

Secondly, This was no particular act of Prelates ; but the business was debated at the council-table, being a matter of State, as well as of Religion. And it was concluded for no Sermons in those infected places, upon this reason, that infected persons or families, known in their own parishes, might not take occasion upon those by-days to run to other churches where they were not known, as many used to

do, to hear some humorous men preach ; for on the Sundays, when they better kept their own churches, the danger is not so great altogether.

Nor, thirdly, is that true, that Sermons are the only means to humble men. For though the preaching of God's word, where it is performed according to his ordinance, be a great means of many good effects in the souls of men ; yet no Sermons are the only means to humble men. And some of their Sermons are fitter a great deal for other operations : namely, to stir up sedition, as you may see by Mr. Burton's ; for this his printed libel was a Sermon first, and a libel too. And it is the best part of a fast to abstain from such Sermons.

2. The second innovation isⁱ, “ That
“ Wednesday was appointed for the
“ Fast-day, and that this was done
“ with this intention, by the example
“ of this Fast without preaching, to

“ suppress all the Wednesday Lectures in London.”

To this I answer, first, that the appointing of Wednesday for the Fast-day was no innovation. For it was the day in the last Fast before this : and I myself remember it so, above forty years since, more than once.

Secondly, If there be any innovation in it, the Prelates named not the day ; my Lord Keeper, I must appeal to your Lordship : the day was first named by your Lordship, as the usual and fittest day. And yet I dare say, and swear too, that your Lordship had no aim to bring in Popery ; nor to suppress all, or any the Wednesday Lectures in London. Besides, these men live to see the Fast ended, and no one Wednesday Lecture suppressed.

3. The third innovation is ^k, “ That the
“ prayer for seasonable weather was
“ purged out of this last Fast-Book,
“ which was (say they) one cause

“ of shipwrecks and tempestuous
“ weather.”

To this I say, first in the general; This Fast-Book, and all that have formerly been made, have been both made and published by the command of the King, in whose sole power it is to call a Fast. And the Archbishop and Bishops, to whom the ordering of the Book is committed, have power under the King to put in, or leave out, whatsoever they think fit for the present occasion; as their predecessors have ever done before them. Provided that nothing be in contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England.

And this may serve in the general for all alterations, in that or any other Fast-Book, or books of devotion upon any particular occasions, which may and ought to vary with several times, and we may, and do, and will justify, under his Majesty's power, all such alterations made therein.

Secondly, for the particular. When this last Book was set out, the weather was very

seasonable. And it is not the custom of the Church, nor fit in itself, to pray for seasonable weather when we have it, but when we want it. When the former Book was set out, the weather was extreme ill, and the harvest in danger; now the harvest was in, and the weather good.

Thirdly, It is most inconsequent to say, that the leaving that prayer out of the Book of devotions, caused the shipwrecks and the tempests which followed. And as bold they are with God Almighty, in saying it was the cause: for sure I am, God never told them that was the cause. And if God never revealed it, they cannot come to know it; yet had the Bishops been prophets, and foreseen these accidents, they would certainly have prayed against them.

Fourthly, Had any Minister found it necessary to use this prayer at any one time during the Fast, he might with ease and without danger have supplied that want, by using that prayer to the same purpose, which is in the ordinary Liturgy.

Fifthly, I humbly desire your Lordships to

weigh well the consequence of this great and dangerous innovation. The prayer for fair weather was left out of the Book for the Fast ; therefore the Prelates intend to bring in Popery. An excellent consequence, were there any shew of reason in it.

4. The fourth innovation¹ is, “ That there
“ is one very useful Collect left out,
“ and a clause omitted in another.”

To this I answer first, as before ; It was lawful for us to alter what we thought fit.

And secondly, since that Collect made mention of preaching, and the Act of State forbid Sermons on the Fast-days in infected places, we thought it fit, in pursuance of that order, to leave out that Collect.

And thirdly, for the branch in the other, which is the first Collect, though God did deliver our forefathers out of Romish superstition, yet (God be blessed for it) we were never in. And therefore that clause being un-

¹ Page 3.

fittingly expressed, we thought fit to pass it over.

5. The fifth innovation^m is, “ That in the
“ sixth order for the Fast, there is a
“ passage left out concerning the abuse
“ of fasting in relation to merit.”

To this I answer. That he to whom the ordering of that Book to the press was committed, did therefore leave it out; because in this age and kingdom there is little opinion of meriting by fasting.

Nay, on the contrary, the contempt and scorn of all fasting (save what humorous men call for of themselves) is so rank, that it would grieve any Christian man to see the necessary orders of the Church concerning fasting, both in Lent and at other set times, so vilified as they are.

6. The sixth innovationⁿ is, “ That the
“ Lady Elizabeth and her princely
“ children are dashed (that is their

^m Page 3.

ⁿ Ibid.

“ phrase) out of the new Collect,
“ whereas they were in the Collect of
“ the former Book.”

For this first, The author of the News knows full well, that they are left out of the Collect in the latter editions of the Common Prayer Book, as well as in the Book for the Fast. And this was done according to the course of the Church, which ordinarily names none in the prayer, but the right line descending. Yet this was not done till the King himself commanded it; as I have to shew under his Majesty's hand.

Secondly, I beseech your Lordships to consider, what must be the consequence here: the Queen of Bohemia and her children are left out of the Collect, therefore the Prelates intend to bring in Popery; for that (you know) they say is the end of all these innovations. Now if this be the end and the consequence, truly the libellers have done very dutifully to the King, to poison his people with this conceit; that the Lady Elizabeth and her children would keep Popery out of this kingdom, but the King and

his children will not. And many as good offices as these have they done the King quite through these libels, and quite through his kingdoms. For my part, I honour the Queen of Bohemia, and her line, as much as any man whatsoever, and shall be as ready to serve them; but I know not how to depart from my allegiance, as I doubt these men have done.

7. The seventh innovation^a is, “ That
“ these words (‘ Who art the Father of
“ Thine elect and of their seed’) are
“ changed in the preface of that
“ Collect, which is for the Prince
“ and the King’s children. And with
“ a most spiteful inference, that this
“ was done by the Prelates to exclude
“ the King’s children out of the
“ number of God’s elect. And they
“ call it an intolerable impiety and
“ horrid treason.”

To this I answer, first, That this alteration was

made in my predecessor's time, before I had any authority to meddle with these things farther than I was called upon by him.

Secondly, This is not therefore to lay any aspersion upon my predecessor; for he did in that but his duty: for his Majesty acknowledges it was done by his special direction, as having then no children to pray for.

And thirdly, This Collect could not be very old, for it had no being in the Common Prayer Book all Queen Elizabeth's time, she having no issue.

The truth is, it was made at the coming in of King James; and must of necessity be changed over and over again *pro ratione temporum*, as times and persons vary. And this is the intolerable impiety and horrid treason they charge upon us.

In this method the innovations are set down in the News from Ipswich. But then in Mr. Burton's News from Friday Street (called his Apology) they are in another order, and more are added. Therefore with your Lordship's leave I will not repeat any of these, but go on to the rest, which Mr. Burton adds.

8. The eighth innovation^p is, “ That in
“ the Epistle the Sunday before
“ Easter, we have put out *in*, and
“ and made it *at* the name of Jesus
“ every knee shall bow ; which alter-
“ ation, he saith, is directly against the
“ Act of Parliament.”

Here give me leave to tell you, it is *at* the name of Jesus, in the late learned translation made in King James’s time. About which many learned men of best note in the kingdom were employed, besides some Prelates.

But to this I answer: First, it is true, the Common Prayer Book was confirmed by Act of Parliament, and so all things contained in it, at the passing of that Act. But I hope if any thing were false printed then, the Parliament did not intend to pass those slips for current.

Secondly, I am not of opinion, that if one word be put in for another, so they bear both the same sense, that there is any great matter done against the Act of Parliament.

^p Burton’s Apology, p. 2.

Thirdly, This can make no innovation. For *in* the name, and *at* the name of Jesus, can make no essential difference here. And Mr. Pryne (whose darling business it hath long been to cry down the honour due to the Son of God, at the mentioning of His saving Name Jesus) knows the grammar rule well, *in* a place or *at* a place, &c.

Fourthly, If there were any error in the change of *in* into *at*; I do here solemnly protest to you, I know not how it came: for authority from the Prelates, the printers had none; and such a word is easily changed in such a negligent press as we have in England. Or if any altered it purposely, for ought I know, they did it to gratify the preciser sort. For therein they followed the Geneva translation, and printed at Geneva, 1557^q, where the words are, ‘at the name of Jesus.’ And that is ninety-four years ago; and therefore no innovation made by us.

Fifthly, This I find in the Queen’s Injunctions^r, without either word *in* or *at*. ‘Whosoever the Name of Jesus shall be in any Lesson,

^q In Octavo.

^r Injunction 52.

Sermon, or otherwise pronounced in the church, (it is enjoined) that due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowliness of courtesy and uncovering of the heads of the men-kind, as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed.' So here is necessity laid upon it, and custom for it, and both expressed by authority in the very beginning of the Reformation; and is therefore no innovation now.

9. The ninth innovation^s is, " That two
" places are changed in the Prayers
" set forth for the Fifth of November:
" and ordered to be read (they say)
" by Act of Parliament. The first
" place is changed thus, from ' root
" out that Babylonish and Antichris-
" tian sect, which say of Jerusalem,'
" &c. into this form of words; ' root
" out that Babylonish and Antichris-
" tian sect (of them) which say,' &c.
" The second place went thus in the

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“ old : ‘ cut off these workers of ini-
“ quity, whose religion is rebellion.’
“ But in the Book printed 1635, it is
“ thus altered; ‘ cut off those workers
“ of iniquity, who turn religion into
“ rebellion,’ &c.”

To this I say, first, It is a notorious untruth, that this Book was ordered to be read by Act of Parliament. The Act of Parliament indeed is printed before it; and therein is a command for Prayers and Thanksgivings every Fifth of November; but not one word or syllable for the Form of Prayer: that is left to the Church; therefore here is no innovation against that Act of Parliament.

Secondly, The alteration first mentioned, that is, ‘ that sect,’ or ‘ that sect of them;’ is of so small consequence, as it is not worth the speaking of: besides, if there be any thing of moment in it, it is answered in the next.

Thirdly, Both for that and the second place, which seems of more moment; and so for the rest not only in that Book, but that other also

for his Majesty's Coronation; his Majesty expressly commanded me to make the alterations, and see them printed. And here are both the Books, with his Majesty's warrant to each of them. So that herein I conceive I did not offend, unless it were that I gave not these men notice of it, or asked them leave to obey the King.

Against this there can be but two objections, should malice itself go to work. The one is, that I moved his Majesty to command the change. And the other, that now, when I saw myself challenged for it, I procured his Majesty's hand for my security.

To these I answer clearly, first, that I did not move the King, directly or indirectly, to make this change.

And, secondly, that I had his Majesty's hand to the Book, not now, but then, and before ever I caused them to be printed, as now they are. And that both these are true, I here again freely offer myself to my oath.

And yet, fourthly, that you may see his gracious Majesty used not his power only in

commanding this change, but his wisdom also, I shall adventure to give you my reasons, such as they are, why this alteration was most fit, if not necessary.

My first reason is, In the Litany in Henry the Eighth's time^t, and also under Edward the Sixth^u, there was this clause: 'from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, from all false doctrine, &c. Good Lord, deliver us.' But in the Litany in Queen Elizabeth's time, this clause about the Pope was left out, and it seems of purpose, for avoiding of scandal: and yet the Prelates for that not accounted innovators, or introducers of popery. Now it is a far greater scandal to call their religion rebellion, than it is to call their chief Bishop tyrant.

And this reason is drawn from scandal, which must ever be avoided as much as it may.

^t It was put into the Litany of Henry the Eighth's time, as appears in his Primer, with his Injunction before it.

^u And it is in both the Service Books of Edward the Sixth, both that which was printed 1549, and in that which was after, anno 1552.

My second reason is, That the learned make but three religions to have been of old in the world, Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity. And now they have added a fourth, which is Turcism, and is an absurd mixture of the other three. Now if this ground of theirs be true, (as it is generally received,) perhaps it will be of dangerous consequence sadly to avow, that the Popish religion is rebellion. That some opinions of theirs teach rebellion, that is apparently true; the other would be thought on, to say no more. And this reason well weighed, is taken from the very foundations of Religion itself.

My third reason is, Because if you make their religion to be rebellion, then you make their religion and rebellion to be all one. And that is against the ground both of State and the Law. For when divers Romish Priests and Jesuits have deservedly suffered death for treason, is it not the constant and just profession of the State, that they never put any man to death for Religion, but for rebellion and treason only? Doth not the State truly affirm,

that there was never any law made against the life of a Papist, *quatenus* a Papist only? And is not all this stark false, if their very religion be rebellion? For if their religion be rebellion, it is not only false, but impossible, that the same man in the same act should suffer for his rebellion, and not for his religion.

And this King James of ever-blessed memory understood passing well, when (in his premonition to all Christian Monarchs^x) he saith, “ I do constantly maintain, that no Papist either in my time, or in the time of the late Queen, ever died for his conscience.” Therefore he did not think their very religion was rebellion: though this Clause passed through inadvertency in his time. And this reason is grounded both upon the practice and the justice of the law.

Which of these reasons, or whether any other better, were in his Majesty's thoughts, when he commanded the alteration of this Clause, I know not. But I took it my duty to lay it before you, that the King had not only power, but reason, to command it.

^x Page 336.

10. The tenth innovation^y is, “ That the
“ Prayer for the Navy is left out
“ of the late Book for the Fast.”

To this I say, there is great reason it should. For the King had no declared enemy then, nor (God be thanked) hath he now. Nor had he then any navy at sea. For almost all the ships were come in before the Fast-Book was set out.

But howsoever, an excellent consequence it is, if you mark it; the Prayer for the Navy was left out of the Book for the Fast, therefore by that, and such like innovations, the Prelates intend to bring in Popery. Indeed, if that were a piece of the Prelates' plots to bring in Popery from beyond sea, then they were mightily overseen that they left out the Prayer for the Navy. But else what reason or consequence is in it, I know not, unless perhaps Mr. Burton intended to befriend Dr. Bastwick, and in the navy bring hither the Whore of Babylon

to be ready for his christening, as he most profanely scoffs.

Well: I pray God the time come not upon this kingdom, in which it will be found, that no one thing hath advanced or ushered in Popery so fast, as the gross absurdities even in the worship of God, which these men, and their like, maintain, both in opinion and practice.

11. The eleventh innovation^z is, “ The
“ reading of the Second Service at the
“ Communion-Table, or the Altar.”

To this, first, I can truly say, that since my own memory, this was in use in very many places, as being most proper, (for those prayers are then read which both precede and follow the Communion,) and by little and little this ancient custom was altered, and in those places first, where the emissaries of this faction came to preach. And now if any in authority offer to reduce it, this ancient course of the Church is by and by called an innovation.

Secondly, with this the Rubrics of the Common Prayer Book agree: for the first Rubric after the Communion tells us, that upon holy-days, though there be no Communion, yet all else that is appointed at the Communion shall be read. Shall be read? That is true, but where? Why, the last Rubric before the Communion tells us, that the Priest, standing at the north side of the Holy Table, “shall say the Lord’s Prayer, with that which follows.” So that not only the Communion, but the prayers which accompany the Communion, (which are commonly called the Second Service,) are to be read at the Communion-Table. Therefore, if this be an innovation, it is made by the Rubric, not by the Prelates; and Mr. Burton’s scoff, that this Second Service must be served in for dainties^a, savours too much of belly and profanation.

“12. One thing sticks much in their
“stomachs, and they call it an inno-

^a Page 105. [Then the Second Service, as dainties, must be said there.]

“ vation^b too. And that is bowing, or
 “ doing reverence at our first coming
 “ into the church, or at our nearer
 “ approaches to the Holy Table, or
 “ the Altar, (call it whether you will,)
 “ in which they will needs have it,
 “ that we worship the Holy Table, or
 “ God knows what.”

To this I answer: first, that God forbid we should worship any thing but God Himself.

Secondly, that if to worship God when we enter into His house, or approach His Altar, be an innovation, it is a very old one.

For Moses did reverence at the very door of the Tabernacle^c. Hezekiah, and all that were present with him, when they had made an end of offering, bowed and worshipped^d. David calls the people to it with a *Venite*, ‘ O come, let us worship, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker^e.’ And in all these places (I pray mark it) it is bodily worship.

^b Page 105.
 xxix. 29.

^c Numb. xx. 6.
^e Psalm xcvi. 6.

^d 2 Chron.

Nor can they say, that this was Judaical worship, and now not to be imitated. For long before Judaism began, Bethel, the house of God, was a place of reverence^f. Therefore certainly of and to God.

And after Judaical worship ended, *Venite, adoremus*, as far upwards as there is any track of a Liturgy, was the introitus of the Priest, all the Latin Church over.

And in the daily prayers of the Church of England, this was retained at the Reformation; and that Psalm, in which is *Venite, adoremus*, is commanded to begin the Morning Service every day. And for ought I know, the Priest may as well leave out the *Venite*, as the *adoremus*; the calling the people to their duty, as the duty itself, when they are come.

Therefore even according to the Service-book of the Church of England, the Priest and the people both are called upon, for external and bodily reverence and worship of God in his Church. Therefore they which do it, do not innovate. And yet the government is so

^f Gen. xxviii. 17, &c.

moderate, (God grant it be not too loose there-while,) that no man is constrained, no man questioned, only religiously called upon, *Venite, adoremus*, Come, let us worship.

For my own part, I take myself bound to worship with body as well as in soul, whenever I come where God is worshipped. And were this kingdom such as would allow no Holy Table standing in its proper place, (and such places some there are,) yet I would worship God when I came into His house. And were the times such, as should beat down churches, and all the 'curious carved work thereof, with axes and hammers,' as in Psalm lxxiv. 6, (and such times have been,) yet would I worship in what place soever I came to pray, though there were not so much as a stone laid for Bethel. But this is the misery, it is superstition now-a-days for any man to come with more reverence into a church, than a tinker and his bitch come into an alehouse; the comparison is too homely, but my just indignation at the profaneness of the times makes me speak it.

And you, my honourable Lords of the Garter,

in your great solemnities, you do your reverence, and to Almighty God, I doubt not, but yet it is *versus Altare*, towards His Altar, as the greatest place of God's residence upon earth. (I say the greatest, yea greater than the pulpit. For there it is *Hoc est Corpus meum*, This is my Body: but in the pulpit it is at most but *Hoc est Verbum meum*, This is my Word. And a greater reverence (no doubt) is due to the Body, than to the Word of our Lord. And so, in relation, answerably to the Throne where His Body is usually present, than to the seat whence His Word useth to be proclaimed. And God hold it there, at His Word; for, as too many men use the matter, it is *Hoc est verbum diaboli*, This is the word of the devil, in too many places. Witness sedition, and the like to it.) And this reverence ye do when ye enter the chapel, and when you approach nearer to offer. And this is no innovation, for you are bound to it by your order, and that is not new.

And idolatry it is not, to worship God towards His Holy Table; for if it had been idolatry, I presume Queen Elizabeth and King

James would not have practised it, no not in those solemnities. And being not idolatry, but true divine worship, you will, I hope, give a poor Priest leave to worship God, as yourselves do: for if it be God's worship, I ought to do it as well as you: and if it be idolatry, you ought not to do it more than I.

I say again, I hope a poor Priest may worship God with as lowly reverence as you do, since you are bound by your order, and by your oath, according to a constitution of Henry the Fifth, (as appears^g,) to give due honour and reverence, *Domino Deo, et Altari ejus, in modum Virorum Ecclesiasticorum*; that is, to the Lord your God, and to His Altar, (for there is a reverence due to that too, though such as comes far short of Divine worship,) and this in the manner as ecclesiastical persons both worship and do reverence.

The story which led in this decree is this: King Henry the Fifth, that noble and victorious Prince, returning gloriously out of France, sat at this solemnity; and finding the Knights of

^g In Libro Nigro Windeforiensi, p. 65.

the Order scarce bow to God, or but slightly, and then bow towards him and his seat, startled at it, (being a Prince then grown as religious, as he was before victorious,) and after asking the reason; for till then the Knights of the Order never bowed toward the King or his seat; the Duke of Bedford answered, "it was settled by a Chapter Act three years before. Hereupon that great King replied, "No, I will none of this, till you the Knights do it *satis bene*, well enough, and with due performance to Almighty God." And hereupon the forenamed Act proceeded, that they should do this duty to Almighty God, not slightly, but *ad modum Virorum Ecclesiasticorum*, as low, as well, as decently, as Clergymen use to do it.

Now if you will turn this off, and say, it was the superstition of that age so to do; Bishop Jewel will come in to help me there. For where Harding names divers ceremonies, and particularly bowing themselves, and adoring at the Sacrament; I say, adoring at the Sacrament, not adoring the Sacrament; there Bishop Jewel (that learned, painful, and reverend Prelate)

approves all, both the kneeling and the bowing, and the standing up at the Gospel, (which as ancient as it is in the Church, and a common custom, is yet fondly made another of their innovations :) and farther, the Bishop adds^h, “ That they are all commendable gestures, and tokens of devotion, so long as the people understand what they mean, and apply them unto God.” Now with us the people did ever understand them fully, and apply them to God, and to none but God, till these factious spirits, and their like, to the great disservice of God and His Church, went about to persuade them that they are superstitious, if not idolatrous, gestures : as they make every thing else to be, where God is not served slovenly.

13. The thirteenth innovation isⁱ, “ The
 “ placing of the Holy Table Altarwise,
 “ at the upper end of the Chancel,

^h Bp. Jewel's Reply to Harding's Answer, Art. iii. Div. 29.

ⁱ Page 4, 5, 105.

“ that is, the setting of it north and
“ south, and placing a rail before it,
“ to keep it from profanation, which
“ Mr. Burton says, is done to advance
“ and usher in Popery.”

To this I answer, that it is no Popery to set a rail to keep profanation from that Holy Table ; nor is it any innovation to place it at the upper end of the Chancel as the Altar stood. And this appears both by the practice, and by the command and Canon of the Church of England.

First, by the practice of the Church of England. For in the King's Royal Chapels, and divers Cathedrals, the Holy Table hath ever since the Reformation stood at the upper end of the quire, with the large or full side towards the people.

And though it stood in most parish churches the other way, yet whether there be not more reason the parish churches should be made conformable to the Cathedral and Mother Churches, than the Cathedrals to them, I leave to any reasonable man to judge.

384 *The Altar placed north and south.*

And yet here is nothing done, either by violence or command, to take off the indifferency of the standing of the Holy Table either way, but only by laying it fairly before men, how fit it is there should be order and uniformity; I say still reserving the indifferency of the standing.

But howsoever I would fain know, how any discreet, moderate man dares say, that the placing of the Holy Table Altar-wise, (since they will needs call it so,) is done either to advance or usher in Popery? For did Queen Elizabeth banish Popery, and yet did she all along her reign from first to last leave the Communion-Table so standing in her own Chapel Royal, in St. Paul's and Westminster, and other places; and all this of purpose to advance or usher in that Popery which she had driven out?

And since her death have two gracious Kings kept out Popery all their times, and yet left the Holy Table standing, as it did in the Queen's time, and all of purpose to advance or usher in Popery, which they kept out?

Or what is the matter? May the Holy Table stand this way in the King's Chapel, or Cathedrals, or Bishops' Chapels, and not elsewhere? Surely, if it be decent and fit for God's service, it may stand so (if authority please) in any Church. But if it advance or usher in any superstition and Popery, it ought to stand so in none.

Nor hath any King's Chapel any prerogative (if that may be called one) above any ordinary Church to disserve God in, by any superstitious rites. Where, give me leave to tell you, that the King and his Chapel are most jeeringly, and with scorn, abused, in the last leaf of Mr. Burton's mutinous appeal, for such it is.

Secondly, This appears by the Canon or Rule of the Church of England too; for it is plain in the last Injunction of the Queen, that the Holy Table ought to stand at the upper end of the quire, north and south, or Altar-wise. For the words of the Queen's Injunctions are these:

“The Holy Table in every Church (mark it, I pray, not in the Royal Chapel or Cathedrals

only, but in every Church) shall be decently made, and set in the place where the Altar stood." Now the Altar stood at the upper end of the quire, north and south, as appears before by the practice of the Church. And there to set it otherwise, is to set it cross the place, not in the place where the Altar stood: and so, *stulti dum vitant vitia*—weak men, as these libellers are, run into one superstition, while they would avoid another; for they run upon the superstition of the Cross, while they seek to avoid the superstition of the Altar. So you see here is neither Popery nor innovation in all the practice of Queen Elizabeth, or since.

These words of the Injunction are so plain, as that they can admit of no shift.

And give me leave to tell you, that a very learned Prelate of this Church, and one whom I think these men will not accuse, as a man like to advance or usher in Popery, is of the same opinion: it is my Lord the Bishop of Salisbury.

Some difference was lately rising about placing the Communion Table in a parish-

church of his Diocese. The Bishop, careful to prevent all disorder^k, sends his Injunction under his hand and seal to the Curate and Church-wardens, to settle that business: in which he hath these two passages remarkable. I have seen and read the Order.

The first passage is this; "By the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth, (saith he,) and by Can. 82, under King James, the Communion Tables should ordinarily be set and stand with the side to the east wall of the chancel." Therefore this is no innovation, since there is Injunction and Canon for it.

The other passage is this, "It is ignorance (saith that learned Bishop) to think, that the standing of the Holy Table there, relishes of Popery." Therefore, if it do not so much as relish of Popery, it can neither advance it, nor usher it in. And therefore this is a most odious slander and scandal cast upon us.

So here is enough both for the practice and rule of the Church of England since the Reformation. Now before that time, both in this

^k May 17, 1637.

and other Churches of Christendom, in the east and west ordinarily, the Holy Table or Altar stood so. Against this, Mr. Burton says little.

But the Lincolnshire Minister comes in to play the Puritan for that. Concerning which book, (falling thus in my way,) and the nameless author of it, I shall only say these two things.

The one is, that the author prevaricates from the first word to the last in the book; for he takes on him both for the name and for the placing of the Holy Table, and the like, to prove, that generally and universally, and ordinarily in the whole Catholic Church, both East and West, the Holy Table did not stand at the upper end of the quire or chancel. And this he must prove, or he doth nothing.

Now when he comes to make his proofs, they are almost all of them particular, few or none general and concludent; for he neither brings testimonies out of the general and received Rituals of the Eastern and Western Churches, nor of Fathers and Histories of the

Church, which speak in general terms of all, but where they speak of particular Churches only.

So that suppose the most that can be, that is, suppose his quotations be all truly alleged, and true too in the sense that the Minister takes them, (though in very truth, the places, most of them, are neither truly alleged, nor sensed,) yet they are but exceptions of, and exemptions from, the general practice. And you know both in law and reason, *exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*. So that upon the sudden I am not able to resolve, whether this Minister hath done more wrong to himself or his readers, for he hath abused both.

The other is, that in the judgment of very many learned men, which have perused this book, the author is clearly conceived to want a great deal of that learning, to which he pretends; or else to have written this book wholly and resolvedly against both his science and his conscience.

And for my own part, I am fully of opinion, this book was thrust now to the press, both to

countenance these libellers, and, as much as in him lay, to fire both Church and State.

And though I wonder not at the Minister, yet I should wonder at the Bishop of the Diocese, (a man of learning and experience,) that he should give testimony to such a business, and in such times as these.

And once more, before I leave the Holy Table, name and thing, give me leave to put you in mind, that there is no danger at all in the Altar, name or thing. For at the beginning of the Reformation, though there were a law for the taking down of the Altars, and setting up of Holy Tables in the room of them; yet in some places the Altars were not suddenly removed. And what says the Queen in her Injunction to this? Why she says, "that there seems no matter of great moment in this; saving for uniformity, and the better imitation of the law in that behalf¹." Therefore for any danger or hurt that was in the Altars, name or thing, they might even then have been left

¹ Injunct. ultim.

standing, but for uniformity, and the imitation of the law.

But howsoever, it follows in the same Injunction, "that when the Altar is taken down, the Holy Table shall be set in (not cross) the place where the Altar stood;" which (as is aforesaid) must needs be Altar-wise.

14. The fourteenth and the last innovation comes with a mighty charge, and it is taken out of an Epistle to the temporal Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council. Of which Epistle we got one sheet, and so (for ought I yet know) that impression stayed. In that sheet is this charge; the words are,

"The Prelates, to justify their proceedings,
"have forged a new Article of Religion, brought from Rome, (which
"gives them full power to alter the
"Doctrine and Discipline of our
"Church at a blow, (as they interpret
"it,) and have foisted it (such is

“ their language) into the beginning
“ of the Twentieth Article of our
“ Church. And this is in the last
“ edition of the Articles, Anno 1628,
“ in affront of his Majesty’s Declara-
“ tion before them, &c.”

The Clause (which they say is forged by us) is this, “ The Church (that is, the Bishops, as they expound it) hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in matter of faith.” (The word is “ controversies of faith,” by their leave.) “ This Clause (say they) is a forgery, fit to be examined and deeply censured in the Star-Chamber. For it is not to be found in the Latin or English Articles of Edward VI. or Queen Elizabeth, ratified by Parliament.”

And then in the margin thus, “ If to forge a will or writing be censurable in the Star-Chamber, which is but a wrong to a private man; how much more the forgery of an Article of Religion, to wrong the whole Church, and overturn Religion, which concerns all our souls ?”

This is a heavy charge, my Lords; but I thank God the answer is easy.

And truly I grant, that to forge an Article of Religion in whole or in part, and then to thrust it upon the Church, is a most heinous crime, far worse than the forging of a deed. And is certainly very deeply censurable in this Court. And I would have humbly besought you, that a deep censure might have been laid upon it, but that this sheet was found after, and so is not annexed to the information, nor in judgment at this present before you.

But then, my Lords, I must tell you, I hope to make it as clear as the day, that this forgery was not, that this Clause mentioned was added by the Prelates to the Article, to gain power to the Church, and so to serve our turns. But that Clause in the beginning of the Article was by these men, or at least by some of their faction, rased out, and this to weaken the just power of the Church to serve their turns.

They say (to justify their charge) that this Clause is not to be found in the Articles, Eng-

lish or Latin, of either Edward VI. or Queen Elizabeth.

I answer: The Articles of Edward VI. and those made under Queen Elizabeth, differ very much. And those of Edward VI. are not now binding. So whether the Clause be in or out of them, it is not much material.

But for the Articles of the Church of England, made in the Queen's time, and now in force, that this clause for the power of the Church to decree ceremonies, and to have authority in controversies of faith, should not be found in English or Latin copies till the year 1628, that it was set forth with the King's Declaration before it, is to me a miracle; but your Lordships shall see the falsehood and boldness of these men.

What? Is this affirmative Clause in no copy, English or Latin, till the year 1628? Strange! Why, my Lords, I have a copy of the Articles in English of the year 1612, and of the year 1605, and of the year 1593, and in Latin of the year 1563, which was one of the first printed copies, if not the first of all. For the Articles

were agreed on but the nine and twentieth day of January, anno 1563.

And in all these, this affirmative Clause for the Church's power is in. And is not this strange boldness then to abuse the world, and falsely to say it is in no copy, when I myself, out of my own store, am able to shew it into so many, and so anciently ?

But, my Lords, I shall make it plainer yet : for it is not fit concerning an Article of Religion, and an Article of such consequence for the order, truth, and peace of this Church, you should rely upon my copies, be they never so many or never so ancient.

Therefore I sent to the public records in my office, and here under my officer's hand, who is a public notary, is returned me the twentieth Article with this affirmative Clause in it. And there is also the whole body of the Articles to be seen.

By this your Lordships see how free the Prelates are from forging this part of the Article. Now let these men quit themselves and their faction as they can, for their *index*

expurgatorius and their foul rasure in leaving out this part of the Article. For to leave out of an Article is as great a crime as to put in; and a main rasure is as censurable in this Court as a forgery.

Why, but then my Lords; what is this mystery of iniquity?

Truly, I cannot certainly tell, but as far as I can I will tell you.

The Articles you see were fully and fairly agreed to and subscribed in the year 1563. But after this, in the year 1571, there were some that refused to subscribe, but why they did so, is not recorded. Whether it were about this Article or any other I know not. But in fact this is manifest, that in the year 1571, the Articles were printed both in Latin and English, and this clause for the Church left out of both. And certainly, this could not be done, but by the malicious cunning of that opposite faction. And though I shall spare dead men's names where I have not certainty; yet if you be pleased to look back, and consider who they were that governed businesses in 1571, and rid

the Church almost at their pleasure ; and how potent the ancestors, these libellers began then to grow ; you will think it no hard matter to have the Articles printed, and this Clause left out.

And yet it is plain, that, after the stir about subscription in the year 1571, the Articles were settled and subscribed unto at last, as in the year 1562, with this Clause in them for the Church : for looking farther into the records which are in mine own hands, I have found the book of 1563 subscribed by all the Lower House of Convocation, in this very year of contradiction, 1571, Dr. John Elmar (who was after Lord Bishop of London) being there Prolocutor: Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, having been Prolocutor in 1563, and yet living and present and subscribing in 1571. Therefore, I do here openly in the Star-Chamber charge upon that pure sect this foul corruption of falsifying the Articles of the Church of England ; let them take it off as they can.

I have now done, and it is time I should, with the innovations charged upon the Prelates, and fit to be answered here.

Some few more there are, but they belong to matter of doctrine, which shall presently be answered, *justo volumine*, at large, to satisfy all well-minded people. But when Mr. Burton's book, which is the main one, is answered, (I mean his book, not his railing,) neither Prynne, nor Bastwick, nor any attendants upon Rabshakeh, shall by me or my care be answered. If this Court find not a way to stop these libellers' mouths and pens, for me they shall rail on till they be weary.

Yet one thing more, I beseech you, give me leave to add. It is Mr. Burton's charge^m upon the Prelates. "That the censures formerly laid upon malefactors, are now put upon God's Ministers for their virtue and piety."

A heavy charge this too. But if he or any man else can shew that any man hath been punished in the High Commission, or elsewhere, by the Prelates, for virtue and piety, there is all the reason in the world we should be severely punished ourselves. But the truth is, the virtue and piety for which these Ministers are punished,

is for preaching schism and sedition, many of their sermons being as bad as their libels, as Burton's libel was one of his sermons first. But whether this stuff have any affinity with virtue and piety, I submit to any Christian reader.

And yet Mr. Burton is so confident of his innocency, even in this cause wherein he hath so foully carried himself, that he breaks forth into these wordsⁿ, "I never so much as once dreamed, that impiety and impudency itself, in such a Christian State as this is, and under such a gracious Prince, durst ever thus publicly have called me in question, and that upon the open stage, &c."

You see the boldness of the man, and in as bad a cause, as (I think) in this kind ever any man had.

I shall end all with a passage out of St. Cyprian^o; when he, then Bishop of Carthage, was bitterly railed upon by a pack of schismatics, his answer was, and it is now mine; "They have railed both bitterly and falsely upon me,

ⁿ Page 7.

^o Lib. i. Ep. 3.

and yet *non oportet me paria cum illis facere*, it becomes not me to answer them with the like either levities or revilings, but to speak and write that only which becomes *Sacerdotem Dei*, a Priest of God."

Neither shall I in this give way (though I have been extremely vilified) to either grief or passion to speak, remembering that of the Psalmist^p, 'Fret not thyself, else shalt thou be moved to do evil.'

Neither yet, by God's grace, shall the reproaches of such men as these make me faint or start aside, either from the right way in matter of practice, (they are St. Cyprian's words again^q), or, *a certa regula*, from the certain rule of faith.

And since in former times, some spared not to call the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more will they be bold with them of His household, as it is in St. Matthew x. 25. And so bold have these men been; but the next words of our Saviour are, 'Fear them not.'

I humbly crave pardon of your Lordships for this my necessary length, and give you all

^p Ps. xxxvii. 8.

^q Ib. p. 10.

heartly thanks for your noble patience, and your just and honourable censure upon these men, and your unanimous dislike of them, and defence of the Church.

But because the business hath some reflection upon myself, I shall forbear to censure them, and leave them to God's mercy and the King's justice.



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